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ABSTRACT

Articles in this issue of a journal on applied linguistics include: "Multilingualism as a Relaxed Affair: The Case of the Western Canadian Halfbreeds" (Patrick C. Douaud); "Testing a Group of Bilingual Children with the Bilingual Syntax Measure" (Christine Helot); "Two Years On: A Sample of Mother Child Interaction in a Second Language" (Maire Owens); "Schooling Through L2 -- Its Effect on Cognitive and Academic Development" (Gearoid O Ciarain); "The Potential for Irish-English Dual-Medium Instruction in the Primary School" (Liam Mac Mathuna); "Discourse Analysis and Language Acquisition" (Michael F. McTear); "Pre-primary Education Through the Medium of Lesser Used Languages" (Helen O Murchu); and "Bilingualism and the Genesis of Hiberno-English Syntax" (Jeffrey L. Kallen). (MSE)

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Tá TEANGA 5 ar fáil anois. Tugadh formhór na bpáipéar atáthar a fhoilsiú anseo ag seimineár a bhí ag IRAAL ar 'Bilingualism and Bilingual Education' i mí Mhárta, 1985. Is ag seimineár tráthnóna de chuid IRAAL a tionóladh in mí Eanáir, 1985, a thug Michael Mc Tear an léacht uaidh atá le fáil san eagrán seo chomh maith.

An tEagarthóir,
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TEANGA 5 is now available. Most of the papers published here were delivered at an IRAAL seminar on 'Bilingualism and Bilingual Education' in March, 1985. Michael Mc Tear's paper appearing in this edition was delivered at an evening lecture held by IRAAL, in January 1985.

The Editor,
July, 1985.

An Bord Eagarthóireachta/The Editorial Board

Dónall P. Ó Baoill
Jeffrey L. Kallen
Nóirín Ní Nuadháin

MULTILINGUALISM AS A RELAXED AFFAIR : THE CASE OF THE WESTERN CANADIAN HALFBREEDS

Patrick C. Douaud
UCD / NIHE

1. Historical Outlook

In the present climate of linguistic militancy and arguments about the merits and drawbacks of multilingualism it may be refreshing to consider groups which make little fuss about language or languages. Such groups can be found among the Canadian Halfbreeds or Metis of the Prairie provinces. The Metis are culturally and -- in Alberta at least -- legally distinct from the Indians and the Euro-Canadians. They used to be a frontier people, born from the interaction between predominantly French Europeans and predominantly Algonquian Indians in the Great Lakes region during the 17th and 18th centuries (Douaud, 1985, pp. 31ff).

Acknowledged as cultural brokers by Whites and Indians alike, they moved west with the frontier, providing the pemmican necessary for the fur trade and guiding the first White explorers into the Canadian Northwest. When the frontier eventually vanished in the second half of the 19th century, they were forced to settle down and eke out a living on a land to which they had no right of ownership. Today they have joined the Indians in those endless land claims which aim at amending older treaties or establishing new ones.

The Metis are thus genetic and cultural halfbreeds straddling two antagonistic worlds : the materialistic world of the White man and the contemplative world of the Indian. Their cultural flexibility is nowhere more obvious than in their multilingualism, usually expressed through the triad Cree/French/English. Three mental sets are therefore involved : Algonquian, Romance, and Germanic.

The resulting composite worldview can be summed up in a few words -- resourcefulness, self-reliance, and an unbounded love for the bush (Cree sakāw, French les bois). Settled as they may be, they still manage to lead a semi-nomadic life, surviving mostly on trapping, fishing, hunting, and seasonal employment ; and they communicate actively with all neighbouring ethnic groups.

2. Areal Multilingualism

The Métis are multilingual because they have to be -- for both historical and geographical reasons. They generally live in close contact with a Cree-speaking Indian reservation and a French Canadian settlement, and are of course exposed to the Anglo world whose influence has spread far and wide since World War I.

For them language is not a "problem". Nor is it a cultural item to which one gives conscious thought : it is rather an essential component of the bushman's panoply, and like everything else in this panoply it has to be tough, reliable, and unobtrusive. Typically, the Métis attitude towards language is, "If you speak Cree I speak Cree,; French, I speak French ; same for English". This statement is not as circular as it may sound : rather, it emphasizes the fact that the crucial determinant of language choice is not ideology, but simply the trigger-utterance in a particular situation.

This explains why the Canadian Métis is rather confused as regards the status of any one of his languages. When asked which of them he prefers, he often answers : "Cree, because it was my mother's language" ; then he will contradict this expression of loyalty by adding, "But I like French just as well". Only English is somewhat left in the shade in terms of emotional commitment, as it entered the Métis' linguistic economy only a few generations ago. However, its prestige is unanimously acknowledged : it is the language of the media, of the "American States" south of the border ; and more importantly perhaps, it is the tongue the younger generations need to know in order to find jobs. Not surprisingly, the Métis have no stylistic repertoire as

such. Labov (1963) found the same situation on Martha's Vineyard, and related this fact to the absence of extremes of wealth and poverty on the island. The Canadian Metis can also be said to be classless, but one can argue as well that they wield languages instead of styles because the presence of a stylistic repertoire in three languages would constitute a non-adaptive cerebral overload ; a similar situation seems to obtain among the Guaraní of Paraguay (Trudgill, 1974, p. 125).

It is clear that we have here a case of areal multilingualism, contrasting with the political multilingualism characteristic of Canada as a nation and of countries such as Ireland. Political multilingualism is often aberrant from a geographical point of view : speakers of language X may live in the east, speakers of language Y in the west, and there often is very little overlap between the two linguistic areas. A stiff dose of diglossia normally accompanies such enforced multilingualism, as one variety is always more prestigious or more versatile than the other(s) ; but the lower variety, artificially boosted by generous handouts, can be given temporary prestige by certain segments of society that wish to use it as a social foil (this is the case with the upper-middle class in Canada and Ireland with French and Gaelic respectively).

Political multilingualism arises from conflicts and creates more conflicts. Like diglossia it provides only social, not individual, competence ; but unlike diglossia it is socially dysfunctional for many speakers, because the lower variety is associated with particular groups instead of applying throughout the speech community. Areal multilingualism, on the other hand, originates in a natural situation of contact, and is of necessity socially functional.

3. The Role of Interference

Cultural overlap does not go without a certain amount of linguistic overlap. When a number of languages are in everyday use, a delicate balance must be struck between linguistic ease (convergence) and linguistic effort (compartmentalization). In the absence of sociolinguistic stigmatiz-

ation among the Metis, stylistic levelling operates in all three languages : although the speakers are exposed to various styles of Cree, French, and English, they produce only the vernacular register in each of these languages ; they do not for example have any active competence in High Cree (the ceremonial register), in educated French (the lingua franca of Catholic missionaries), or in the educated English they hear on radio and TV.

The cement of this style-free triad is a pervasive interference of two kinds -- grammatical and situational. A few examples of each will be given below.

(i) Grammatical interference. There is a clear pattern of interference from Cree at all grammatical levels. This pattern is so striking that many aspects of it are used as stereotypes of Metis speech by White neighbours trying to typify them. Most conspicuous of all is an intonation contour characteristic of Cree which distorts the prosodies of French and English, making them fit into its own pattern of stress, pitch, and length. Put very simply, in Cree stress (which is phonemic) is accompanied by high pitch, while the contiguous vowels are somewhat lengthened :

[ntājan wīja̱s] "I have some meat"

This suprasegmental pattern is added to the intonation contour of both French and English, putting a distinctly Metis mark on them (see Douaud, 1983, for further analysis). For example :

French [s̃ kõnẽ kõmɑ̃ lɪ tʃɪrɪ] "On connait comment les tirer"

English [āj drājv māj trʌk] "I drive my truck"

There are several examples of segmental phonetic interference as well, involving mainly palatalization and vowel raising, and diagnostic of an attraction of French and English into a general Native linguistic area characterized by allophonic raising (Douaud, 1985, pp. 110ff).

At the next level of analysis we find an obvious morpho-syntactic influence from Cree. Cree has no genders, but a distinction [+ animate / - animate] : e.g., wīja̱s "meat" is [- animate]

(it is dead flesh), while mōswa "moose" is [+ animate] . Thus pronominal distinctions in terms of [± masc] forms are simply not relevant to a speaker of Cree. The Metis extend this feature to il/elle in French, and he/she/it in English, and exhibit a total disregard for gender : "Na femme il parlait Cree", "My grandfather she died when she was a hundred and five", etc. This confusion of pronouns is common among speakers of gender-marked languages who have a genderless language (e.g., Hungarian or Persian) as their native tongue : but here no effort is made to fight this interference, and the confusion is so consistent as to deserve being called systematic. This may well be one of the few examples of genuine free variation -- a concept otherwise abhorrent to socially oriented linguists...

The last example of grammatical interference presented here will concern word order and the expression of possession. In Cree, possession is expressed as follows : if the possessor is represented by a morpheme with the function of possessive adjective, we have the same word order as in English or in French, viz., [adj + object] , as in o-masinahikan "his book". However, if the possessor is represented by a noun (preceded or not by an adjective), the pattern becomes $[(adj)_i + noun_j] + [adj_j + object]$, as in ki-kosis o-masinahikan "your son's book" (lit.: "your son his book"). Again, this model has been superimposed by Metis speakers on the French and English regular word orders, and we can hear sentences thus construed : "My sister, his boy he's in Fort McMurray". Although such a construction can be heard occasionally in familiar English or French, older Metis speakers use it so consistently that it may be said to represent the regular possessive construction in their speech.

(ii) Situational interference. This type of interference involves automatic code-switching and code-mixing. Code-switching characterizes whole sentences, whereas code-mixing characterizes morphemes and lexemes (Labov, 1971, p. 457 ; Gumperz, 1971, p. 317). Both are tied to the situation (who you are speaking to, and where) and to the content of discourse : while talking to me in Cree and French about job

opportunities in his region, an older Metis gradually lapsed into English -- simply because it is the language of employment. Also, when part of the discourse cannot be readily expressed because of a lexical gap in one language, one switches to another language without any pause or hesitation (a seemingly common phenomenon among illiterate or little-educated multilinguals).

If the two conditions are present -- a lexical gap and a particular language connotation -- and if moreover the interlocutor is known or felt to be multilingual, one often observes copious code-switching and spectacular code-mixing involving both morphemes and lexemes, of the type :

"On stakait des claims, là, la nuit",

or "Il voulait climber un tree".

In these examples [stejk] and [k^hlajm] lose their characteristically un-Cree diphthong [ej] and consonantal aspiration, and become [stek][klajm] while receiving French suffixes and becoming oxytones. There are of course many opportunities for Cree to get involved more directly in code-switching and mixing.

These phenomena seem to be directly proportional to the degree of emotional involvement in the discourse. Together with grammatical interference, they point to a cohesive linguistic system where separate languages are treated as related varieties of the same language. Perhaps it is this fundamental unity of speech and culture which is expressed in the Metis' most often heard statement about their linguistic economy : "It's all the same to me -- all mixed".

4. Modern Trends

Unfortunately, the linguistic versatility described so far applies almost exclusively to the older (50+) generation : Metis culture is now paying for its relaxed attitude towards language. Like the Louisiana Cajuns (Gold, 1979), Metis elders have acted as passive repositories of traditional lore and have failed to foster defensive militancy among the younger generations. As a result, there has been in the last twenty years a steady linguistic and cultural attrition of the following type :

age	50+	30-
subsistence activities	trapping, fishing, hunting, seasonal employment	steady employment
group activities	Metis music and dances, Church	Rock and Country music, no Church
linguistic economy	active competence : Cree/French/English	active competence : English

As part of their liberal attitude towards modernity the Metis show a great deal of respect for education -- an instrument both of acculturation and of preservation. Even though books are not seen among the normal household items -- a feature shared with most Indian communities (see e.g., Philips, 1975, p. 373) -- children are dutifully sent to school. But the old missionary schools where French and Cree were spoken or at least tolerated have closed down ; they have been replaced by a centralized school system that gathers children from all ethnic backgrounds and educates them through the sole medium of English. The future is bleak, then, especially since the fluidity that characterizes historical and contemporary Metis structures has caused them to be overlooked in the school curriculum ; whereas there are many Indian reservation schools that teach Native languages and traditional lifeways, there is no such thing for the Metis, except in some areas of Manitoba.

If it is difficult to preserve the Metis linguistic economy, at least a great deal can be accomplished for the ethnic identity and self-image of Metis children by putting greater emphasis on literacy. That literacy has played only a minor role in the traditional Catholic schooling of the Canadian Metis is obvious from the fact that they have produced very few priests, brothers, or nuns in some 150 years of close association with the missions. This holds true for the Indians as well (Flanagan, 1979, p. 6) ; apparently the goal of the Church in North America was simply to save savage souls from damnation ; the spiritual steadfastness of the aboriginal population was generally not deemed fit to be trusted with the proselytizing of other people.

It is now time for literacy to be conveyed seriously to Metis children in order to replace those traditional activities

which the elders do not teach any more. Literacy should be presented as a collective, rather than solitary, activity, and should concern itself with local materials such as customs, family names, genealogies, and traditional narratives. Although a recent study (Cronin, 1980) has shown that the Indian and Metis pupils of a centralized school system are acculturated enough to recall stories with conventional European structure better than stories with traditional Cree structure, it should be possible to use the Cree structure in English so as to familiarize Indian and Metis children with the culture they are in danger of losing (see Cronin, 1982, for further elaboration). In this way cultural continuity could be preserved <u>within</u> the dominant society: this, after all, is the goal of what has been called the "Fourth World" of minorities.

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CHRISTINE HÉLOT: LANGUAGE CENTRE, ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH.

TITLE: TESTING A GROUP OF BILINGUAL CHILDREN WITH THE BILINGUAL SYNTAX MEASURE.

INTRODUCTION:

This paper proposes to discuss the problems involved in assessing the language proficiency of young bilinguals. The definitions of several notions associated with descriptions of bilingualism will be reviewed such as: assessment, discrete point test, integrative and pragmatic tests, proficiency, dominance and balanced bilingualism.

In a second part, the paper will report on the use of the Bilingual Syntax Measure (I and II) as elicitation procedure and measure of proficiency, with eleven children (of two different age groups) being brought up bilingually in English and French in Ireland.

The translation of the Spanish version of the BSM (I and II) into French was used after having been tested on 3 French children in France. The language productions of the bilingual subjects are compared to the language productions of 2 control groups of monolingual children of the same sex, age and socio-economic background, one living in Ireland and the other living in France.

The BSM (I and II) scoring system was calculated for all subjects tested (monolingual and bilinguals) and the reliability and validity of scores are discussed in the light of background information about the bilingual children such as the nationality of parents, language(s) spoken at home and in school and attitudes towards French and English.

While scores obtained by the use of an instrument such as the BSM must be interpreted as being to some extent a reflection of the instrument as well as of the linguistic reality under investigation, the scores obtained by the subjects in this study indicate that a considerable amount of French is

or has been acquired by the bilingual children and this at no expense to their English.

It should be stressed though that the BSM only measures structural proficiency and does not describe the real language behaviour of the bilingual children. To have any real validity language productions elicited with the BSM should be compared to free speech samples. Yet the BSM was found easy to use with children from 4 to 8 years old who were not very familiar with the interviewer and it was quite productive as an elicitation procedure.

DEGREE AND FUNCTION IN BILINGUALISM:

When describing bilingualism one must distinguish as W. Mackey (1968) points out between degree and function. While function refers to when, where and why and with whom a person uses the two languages, degree refers to the competency an individual can demonstrate in two languages, to the skills and abilities of the bilingual person in using each language, to proficiency and performance.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p.194-217) also points to the same distinction she writes

> *"There are 2 different measures of bilingualism: reported linguistic behaviour and observed linguistic behaviour."*

Reported linguistic behaviour is usually provided by interviews and questionnaires and the first part of my research project was an analysis of two language background questionnaires (LBQ) which provided a lot of information concerning the functional bilingualism of 54 children ranging from 1 to 16 and being brought up bilingually in French and English in Ireland.

The second part of the research project concerns degree of bilingualism or observed linguistic behaviour. It concerns language assessment and how language proficiency can be measured.

LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT:

There are many approaches to language assessment and more research needs to be done, particularly on the nature of language proficiency (see Ch. Rivera 1983 and J. Cummins 1984, p.142-144). What should the main aims of language assessment be?

Language Assessment should determine certain facts about language use and enable the rating of bilingual proficiency; it should give valid information about what language or languages the child speaks and understands and how well, and language assessment should also show to what purposes the child can use both languages. The most common way of getting a measurement of bilingualism by objective observation is by means of tests.

TESTS:

Different kinds of tests have been used to measure bilingual language proficiency, tests which were developed by linguistis, psychologists, sociologists, educationalists and which measure different aspects such as interference, speed and automatic functions, in what situations the bilinguals use their two languages and the size of the repertoire in both languages.

Most tests for bilinguals use methods of measurement which test each of the bilinguals' two languages separately with monolingual proficiency as the norm. Such tests are based on the dual code theory which assumes that bilinguals have two separate linguistic rule systems. The dual code theory is challenged in particular by Jim Cummins (1984) who proposes the one-code theory and a very interesting model of bilingual proficiency (Cummins, 1984. p.138).

DOMINANCE:

The dual code theory has also led to the notion of dominance in bilingualism. In many tests the balance between two languages has been used as a measurement of bilingualism. The assumption is that the more equal the balance between the languages the more bilingual the speaker is and the language

receiving the highest score is said to be the dominant one. Since 1968 Fishman has been criticising the use of balance between languages as a measure of bilingualism on the grounds that this defines balanced bilingualism as the ideal. Balanced bilinguals are very rare: Fishman (1968) writes:

> *"Bilingual societies do not produce bilinguals whose languages are in balance. Bilingual societies produce those kinds of bilinguals whose one language is dominant in one area and whose other language is dominant in another. A method of measurement with balance as the ideal is unrealistic."*

Fishman goes on to say that bilingual dominance varies from domain to domain and this must be taken into account when deciding on the selection of content used in a test to measure bilingual proficiency.

Another aspect to the notion of dominance is discussed by Burt Dulay and Hernandez (1976) who write:

> *"The parameters that comprise language dominance are as follows: lexicon, structural proficiency, phonological control, fluency, communicative skills. Dominance in one parameter does not imply dominance in the others."*

Shuy (1977) criticizes Dulay Burt and Hernandez's definition of dominance because dominance tests only address themselves to a spoken competence in specific areas of language but say nothing of one's ability to communicate effectively. The problem of measuring a bilingual's ability to communicate raises other theoretical considerations concerning the elaboration of tests.

DISCRETE POINT TESTS AND INTEGRATIVE TESTS:

When looking at language tests one must distinguish between discrete point testing and integrative or pragmatic testing.

Discrete point tests generally means that each point of language is tested separately, whereas integrative tests look at language as a whole and focus on the total communicative effect of an utterance. The main advocate of

pragmatic testing is J.W. Oller. He writes in "Focus on the Learner" (1973) (edited by Oller and Richards):

> *"Tests which aim at specific points of grammar are less effective than tests that require the integration of skills. Integrative tests more closely parallel, the communicative use of language."*

The debate between the two approaches goes on and both kinds of approaches are interdependant and necessary (see E. Ingram, 1978)

There are many theoretical issues which have important implications for the techniques of language testing and which are being discussed today. (see Shuy, in "Focus on the Learner", 1973), but all this research interest has produced very little up to now:

> *"Despite all this research interest , disappointingly little has happened. Finding a test or elaborating a test is a very serious problem."*
>
> (T. Skutnab-Kangas, 1981, p.210)

Apart from books and articles reporting on the use of tests for bilinguals three volumes of published tests were consulted: Synes (1975) describes and analyses nine tests for the bilingual child. The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Los Angeles published one volume in 1976 where 24 different tests are described. The tests purports to assess oral language skills but none of the 24 tests are rated above fair in a 3 point scale of good to poor in terms of validity or technical excellence. The second volume published in 1978 is a descriptive catalogue of 342 oral and written tests.

THE BILINGUAL SYNTAX MEASURE (BSM):

For various reasons such as the age of the subjects, the attractiveness of its drawings and ease of administration, the Bilingual Syntax Measure (1975) was chosen for this project.

There are two BSMs, the BSM I to be used with children from age 4 to 7 or eight and the BSM II to be used with children age 7, 8 and older. The

BSM consists of two colourful booklets of cartoon style pictures without any text. The aim of the authors were to design an instrument to measure children's oral proficiency in English or Spanish grammatical structures, by using natural speech as a basis for making judgments.

> *"The BSM encourages children to express their thoughts and opinions freely. The syntactic structures that the children use to express their thoughts are the important factors of structural proficiency. If both English and Spanish are used it can be used as an indicator of language dominance with respect to basic syntactic structures."*
>
> Burt Dulay Hernandez (1975)

The BSM is based on discrete point theory and on the notion of dominance. It's administration is very simple: an examiner asks specific questions written out in a student booklet and writes down exactly in the booklet the answers given by the child. The answers are scored later. The questions are formulated to elicit obligatory uses of the grammatical forms wanted and the test in one language lasts from 10 to 15 minutes per child. The BSM I and the BSM II each contain twenty five questions which are designed to test syntax, not vocabulary, pronunciation or functional use of language.

The BSM has been used and assessed by many researchers since its publication, such as Boyd (1975), Cohen (1976), Gil (1976), Harrison (1976), Helmer (1977) etc. The strongest and most interesting criticism of the BSM are to be read in Oller (1979), Skutnab Kangas (1981) and in a very good review of the BSM by Ellen Rosanski (1979). Rosanski (1979, p.116-139) seriously questions the reliability and validity of the BSM.

HOW THE BSM WAS USED IN THIS PROJECT:

The Spanish version of BSM I and II were translated into French and tested on three French monolingual children of age 5, 8 and 10 living in France. A list of the French structures elicited was drawn up and analysed.

See Table 1.

TABLE 1

Structures elicitées par la BSM II Français

1. Futur immédiat
   SN pluriel
3. Passé Composé & place
   pronom direct pluriel
4. Ct de nom-
   du - de la
5. Question directe
6. Cond^{el} passé avoir
   SN sing. être
7. parce que + SN + SV
8. Subjonctif ou
   donner un ordre
   demander de faire q.chose
9. C^{el} présent SN pluriel
   sing
10. présent ind
    SN sing
11. question directe ou
    indirecte
14. article + nom masc/fem
    ind.
15. subj. présent (id)
    & Ind présent
    (vb regulier ou irrégulier)
16. Futur immédiat
17. avoir faim
    SN sing
18. Cond^{el} présent
    SN sing
19. Cond^{el} passé
20. question directe
    ou indirecte
22. passé composé
    avoir SN pluriel
23. passé composé
    avoir ou être
    SN pluriel
24. passé composé
    avoir ou être
    SN sing
25. Cond^{el} passé
    reg ou irrégulier

While the BSM was developed as a test as culturally fair as possible the author of the translation being of French nationality but having lived in Ireland for 10 years, didn't notice any element that might be unknown to children living in France. Yet the younger subjects didn't recognize the picture of sandwiches which do not have the shape or colour of French sandwiches and which in France, would only be eaten in a picnic situation. Another example of cultural differences between the French subjects and the bilingual and Irish subjects was expressed in answers to the following question: "Why were the rabbit and frog so scared?" Only the French children answered that the animals were afraid to be cooked and eaten!

SUBJECTS:

18 subjects were tested with the BSM I and 15 with the BSM II. The first group of subjects consisted of 6 bilingual children (5 boys and 1 girl) ranging in age from 4.6 to 5.8 and 2 control groups consisting of 6 monolingual French subjects living in France (age from 4.7 to 5.7) and 6 monolingual English speaking children living in Ireland (age from 4.11 to 6.)

The second group of subjects consisted of 5 bilingual children (3 girls and 2 boys) ranging in age from 7.8 to 8.9 and 2 control groups consisting of 5 monolingual French children living in France (age from 7.10 to 8.10) and 5 monolingual English speaking children living in Ireland (age from 7.11 to 8.10)

The bilingual subjects were selected among 54 bilingual children whose mother and father completed extensive language background questionnaires. The control groups were chosen to match the sex, age and socio-economic status(SES) of the bilingual children. Profession and level of education of both parents were asked as an indicator of S.E.S.

Testing:

Three examiners were involved: two in Ireland who are bilinguals themselves and raising their children bilingually (though the subjects were not their own children) and one examiner in France who is a monolingual French speaker and works as a child librarian.

Usual problems with testing young children were encountered such as shyness, tiredness, colds and cough as testing took place in Winter. Testing the older group was much easier, though some children were shy and some parents were reticent. However, when the BSM was shown to parents and when they realised how little time it would take, parents were reassured and happy to cooperate.

While monolingual children were given either the English version of the BSM or the translation into French, bilingual children were given the BSM first

in French, then in English. One child only (in the younger age group) couldn't answer the examiner in English after having answered her first in French. He continued answering in French despite her asking the questions in English. The test was discontinued and redone a few days later with the child's father who is of Irish nationality. All questions were answered in English.

The whole test was tape recorded for all subjects and transcribed, since the aim of the research is to obtain samples of French and English rather than just scores indicating dominance.

Scoring:

Scoring according to the guidelines laid down in the technical handbooks by the authors was also calculated and found to be easily and quickly done in most cases. The scoring recommended for the BSM I will place the child at a level of proficiency going from level 1 to level 5 and from level 1 to level 6 for the BSM II.

TABLE 2

BSM I	BSM level of proficiency
level 1	: Children are at the beginning of the process of learning a language.
level 2	: describes receptive language only.
level 3	: survival level ability.
level 4	: intermediate level for children aged 7,8. proficient and comparable to NS for children aged 4,5,6.
level 5	: proficient - NS.
BSM II	
level 1,2,3	: same as BSM I
level 4	: intermediate level - errors often made.
level 5	: high degree of proficiency approaching native speakers for younger children (7,8)
level 6	: fully proficient - NS.

Some of the answers though were difficult to score since the children didn't always produce the expected grammatical forms. In several cases the children simplified.

Example:

Question	:	Comment la famille a retrouvé la nourriture?
Expected answer	:	les oiseaux l'ont rapportée
answer given by 2 children	:	grâce aux oiseaux.

The authors of the BSM recommend that 1 point should be scored for each answer which is grammatically correct and appropriate. The simplified answer given by the two children should then be scored as correct but it certainly does not show that they are able to produce a "passé composé" with a plural subject and a direct pronoun properly placed.

Analysis of scores obtained by the SS in this project:

It should be stressed at this point that results obtained by the use of an instrument such as the BSM must be interpreted as being to some extent a reflection of the instrument as well as of the linguistic reality under investigation.

The scores in Table 3 and 4 are only an indication of the children's structural proficiency in English and/or French in relation to speech they produced, answering the questions of the BSM.

TABLE 3: BSM I

RESULTS

Ss	Sex	B	B	B	B	B	G
6 Mono English	Age	6	5.9	5.2	5.1	4.11	5
	Score E	5	5	5	5	5	4
6 Bilingual French/ English	Age	5.8 [A]	5.1 [B]	4.11 [C]	4.10 [D]	4.6 [E]	4.6 [F]
	Score E	5	4	4	3	4	4
	Score F	4	2	1	2	4	4
6 Mono French	Age	5.7	5.0	4.10	4.10	4.5	4.7
	Score F	5	5	3	3	4	5

E: English. F: French.

Ss	Nationality		Lang at School	Language(s) at home	Scores	
	Mother	Father			French	English
A	F	I	F	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	5
B	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time Child refuses French.	2	4
C	F	I	E	Mother no longer speaks French	1	4
D	I	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time. Child refuses French.	2	3
E	F	I	F	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	4
F	F	I	E	Mother speaks French. Father speaks English.	4	4

TABLE 4: BSM II

RESULTS

Ss	Sex	G	G	B	G	B
5 Mono English	Age	8.10	8.7	8.4	7.11	7.11
	Score E	6	6	6	6	6
5 Bilingual French/ English	Age	8.9 A	8.4 B	7.9 C	8.0 D	7.8 E
	Score E	6	6	6	5	6
	Score F	5	6	2	5	6
5 Mono French	Age	8.10	8.7	8.2	8.2	7.10
	Score F	6	6	6	6	6

Bil Ss	Nationality		Lang at School	Language(s) at home	Scores	
	Mother	Father			French	English
A	E	E	F	English and French	5	6
B	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time.	6	6
C	F	I	E	English mostly.	2	6
D	E	F	F	English mostly	5	5
E	F	I	E	Mother speaks French all the time.	6	6

The scores go from 1 to 5 for the BSM I and from 1 to 6 for the BSM II and correspond respectively to 5 and 6 levels of proficiency. (see Table 2)

BSM I: SUBJECTS AND RESULTS

The six bilingual subjects were chosen according to the information given in the LBQ and to enable comparisons; 5 children have mothers of French nationality and fathers of Irish nationality whose first language is English or Irish.

SUBJECTS D AND B:

One child (subject D) has two Irish parents but his mother speaks French to him all the time. (She was a teacher of French before she had children). He achieved a score of 2 on the BSM I in French and the language he produced was compared to the productions in French of subject B, who also scored 2. Subject D produced more French than subject B and indeed produced whole sentences (short) whereas subject B only produced words and one short sentence.

Examples:

Subject D : il a enlevé les chaussures
il est un roi
il a mangé
il mange
il mange tout

Subject B : manger
a mangé
donner tout ça

While the two boys agreed to look at the BSM booklet and answer the examiner in French (up to a certain point) both are reported by their mother to refuse to speak French. Both have been on holidays in France which could have given them negative feelings towards France. Subject D was lonely in France and while he used to speak French to his mother before the holidays, refused to do so on his return to Ireland.

Subject B (according to his mother) has always refused to produce any sentences in French, he only produces words. His holidays in France were also disturbed by a lot of family confrontations but his parents hope that

his next holiday in France will have a positive effect since the child will be with cousins of his own age.

The scores in English for subjects B and D differ substantially. Subject B has a high score in English (4) whereas subject D has a low score (2). It is interesting to note that the BSM E gave this low score for it seems to confirm what the child's parents were told by the primary school teacher when the child entered school, i.e. that his level of English was lower than other children (monolingual English-speaking) of the same age and living in the same area.

SUBJECT C:

Subject C is a boy aged 4.11 at the time of testing whose mother is French and whose father is Irish. His mother spoke French to him all the time when he was a baby but stopped when she heard from another French mother that her child could be refused entry into an Irish primary school if the child didn't speak English. She now speaks French only occasionally having lost the habit of addressing him in French all the time.

This example shows the problems facing parents wanting to speak a language other than the majority language to their children, and how lack of proper information can lead to abandonning such an endeavour. It should also be pointed out that children in Ireland start primary school at age 4 which is a crucial period for language development.

SUBJECTS A E F :

Subjects A and E are boys and subject F is a girl. As well as sharing high scores in English and French they also share other characteristics. The three children have French mothers and Irish fathers and in the three families the strategy of person is used with the mother addressing the children in French all the time. The difference between these children is that subject A and E have been attending the French School in Dublin for several months but subject F attends an English-speaking school. While the scores for the three children are the same in French, subject A has a higher score in English which is probably due to his age. He is a year

and two months older than subject E and F.

A more detailed linguistic analysis of the children's production in French will be carried out later on.

RESULTS OF THE BSM II:

The scores obtained by the children after answering the questions of the BSM II in French and in English are more uniform than scores of the BSM I.

SUBJECTS B & E and A & C:

The interesting differences are between subjects B and E and A and C. Subjects B and E (a girl aged 8.7 and a boy aged 7.8 at the time of testing) both go to an English-speaking school and speak French at home with their mother all the time. Subjects A and D (two girls aged 8.9 and 8.0) have both been attending the French School since age 4. In the case of subject A, both parents are of English nationality but fluent speakers of French and they speak French and English with their children. Subject D has a French father and an English mother and very little French is spoken at home.

The scores achieved by the two children speaking French at home with their mothers are higher than the scores of the two children attending the French School. It would seem to indicate that children (of 7½ and 8½ years old) tested with the BSM II achieve a higher level of structural proficiency than children of the same age being educated in French. It would be interesting to repeat such a study on children one or two years older or, on the same subjects in a year or two and check whether children speaking French at home only, still achieved higher scores than children in French schools, on tests of oral structural proficiency.

Obviously as mentioned before the BSM only tests structural proficiency and reading and writing should also be tested to give a more integrated view of the language achievements of the children under study.

Subject C:

Subject C is a boy aged 7.9 at the time of testing, the third child in a family of three children and his mother (of French nationality) speaks mostly English at home (the father is Irish and knows little French). The boy certainly understood the questions in French but had great difficulty answering in French. He is reported by his mother to manage quite well when he goes to France on holidays.

Some differences in the language productions in French of the bilingual children and the monolingual French children:

On the lexical level, French children used words such as "picorer" (present in textbooks used in France) and familiar words like "la bonne femme" and "piquer" instead of "voler".

On the morphosyntactic level, the bilingual children do not always produce the obligatory liaison as in for example:

"il les a enlevées."

On the syntactic level, the place of direct and indirect pronouns is also a difficulty for bilingual children and on the cultural level it was amusing to note that French children thought the bad family was going to catch the rabbit or the frog in order to eat them!

There were also some similarities in the errors (developmental) of bilingual and monolingual French children, for example:

"ils croirent" instead of "ils croient"

was produced by two French children and two bilingual children.

Comparisons of scores in English and French (BSM II):

If one looks at the scores obtained by subjects B, D and E, they are equivalent in English and French. Yet more detailed analysis of the language productions shows that the three bilingual children (subjects B, D, E) produced a greater number of correct sentences in English than in French. In one case the speed of answering was much quicker in English than in

French but this could be due to the fact that the questions were the same (as far as content) in English and in French.

If the BSM gives an indication of achievement in French on the structural level it is not a refined enough instrument if one only takes into account the scores. While the scores in English confirm that the children's English is the same as monolingual native speakers of English, the scores in French do not account for differences between monolingual native speakers of French in France and the French produced by the bilingual children growing up in Ireland.

CONCLUSION:

The scores obtained by the children in this study are very encouraging for parents speaking French to their children at home. The samples of French elicited with the BSM II (by the subjects in the older age group) show that some French, indeed quite a lot of French, is being acquired by the children who communicate only in French with their mother (and also by the children who attend the French School). But again, what the BSM gives is an indication of structural proficiency in French and English but it does not describe the real language behaviour of the children. One example of this is that the language elicited by subjects in the second age group shows no language mixing and very little interference. This does not reflect the real language behaviour of the children but the design of the test (the children were asked to answer questions in French first and then in English). Subject B for example, did not mix English and French in her answers but often does so in conversation with the interviewer.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect to the results obtained with the BSM in this project is that children who spend most of the day in an English-speaking environment but speak French to their mother at home (all the time), achieve equal or higher scores than children going to a French-speaking school (and speaking some French at home).

Further linguistic analysis of the French samples elicited with the BSM II in French by monolingual French speakers living in France and by the bilingual children in this study will be carried out.

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TWO YEARS ON : A SAMPLE OF MOTHER CHILD INTERACTION IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

0 INTRODUCTION

The tape (and transcript) on which this paper is based is a sample of Irish produced by myself and my daughter Eithne during a conversation we had in November 1984. She was then 5 years and 5 mths. old. It is my intention to use it as an example of what can be achieved informally in terms of second language acquisition, comment on some of the constraints imposed on interaction between mother and child by use of a second language and indicate some features which reveal the processes by which one small child is learning to communicate in a second language.

1 BACKGROUND

Until Eithne was 3, no-one had ever spoken systematically to her in Irish. She may have recognised some sounds; we speak some Irish at home, mainly in connection with school (her older brother and sister and since last September Eithne herself attend an all-Irish school); we have Irish-speaking friends, go to Irish functions and spend some of our holidays in the Gaeltacht. Aged 3 years and 3 months she began attending a Naíonra, where as one of a group of 10 children the stiúrthóir spoke only Irish to her and this was reinforced to some extent at home. I began to take a specific interest in her language development just over a year ago, developing a policy of using Irish with the children in anything connected with school and spending on average, one hour per week with Eithne, reading to her in Irish and encouraging her to speak in Irish.

The recording was made two years into her exposure to Irish. It is worth commenting on the fact that after one year in the Naíonra, while she showed evidence of comprehension, her production was limited to a series of context-bound utterances, most of which had been selectively

encouraged and practised there.

eg Dia dhuit, a bhean!
Is liomsa é.
Ba mhaith liom briosca/bainne/péint dearg/leabhar.

It was only in the second year that she began to show signs of refining and developing systems for herself in ways that did not reflect directly the input of the Naíonra.

2 ATTITUDES

Since her mother turned into a would-be linguist, Eithne finds herself encouraged, cadjoled and sometimes threatened into maintaining use of Irish in the contexts of school, church and Irish-speaking friends and beyond. Of the three methods, neither threats nor surprisingly encouragement are really effective. Threats, because being of independent mind, she simply refuses to cooperate, resorts to tears or stops talking.

Parental encouragement is often cited as a prime motivating factor in the learning of Irish in school. But Eithne frequently declines to follow me in speaking Irish, protests that she doesn't want to, produces a few words and asks "Can we not talk English now." At this stage she is reasonably fluent and is skilled at borrowing, so lack of ability is not the problem. She visits a lot with an Irish-speaking friend and takes for granted the fact that she must speak Irish to the adults there. In fact, before she goes, she practises phrases she might need, like how to say what time she has to come home at. Last Christmas, in the company of her non-Irish-speaking Granny and an Irish-speaking stranger, she embarked on a complicated explanation, in Irish, of a card game they were playing, with no hint that she felt inadequate for the task. It is not that she is unaware of the limitations of her competence in Irish; initially she was very reluctant to attempt to say anything she felt unsure of, but her confidence has increased with her competence throughout the last year, given an interlocutor she accepts.

A clue to her attitude is revealed in a comment she passed to a friend recently. Mary-Anne, who is also English-speaking but encouraged to use the Irish she has picked up at school, was visiting and thanked me for something saying "Go raibh maith agat!" Eithne immediately rounded on her with "You don't have to speak Irish here; this isn't an

Irish house"!

It seems then that Eithne though now a fairly competent speaker, has her own-found objections to casual language switching. She is not willing to substitute one language for another without good reason. Her criterion may be that the interlocutor consistently use one language with her although all the Irish-speakers she meets do sometimes resort to English if she has difficulty understanding or there are English-only-speakers present. Equally it might be that she imitates me and speaks Irish with people with whom she observes me speaking Irish; exceptions to this would be other children with whom she almost always speaks English. Even in the contexts of church and school where my use of Irish is fairly consistent, she tends to limit herself to short transactions and quickly resorts to English. On occasions she negotiates a limited period during which she is prepared to humour me on condition that we shift back to English afterwards. This tendency was less marked while she attended the Naíonra and may even only be a passing phase. It does however indicate the existence of constraints, tied up with the whole mother-child relationship and the movement away from familiar circumstances into a new world where so much is different that the child is inclined to cling to what she is used to.

It is because I have undertaken a longitudinal study of Eithne's language development that many of these factors have become apparent. I have had to find ways of recording material and getting her to respond to my prompting. This is where the cadjoling method comes in, by which I mean going out of my way to coax her to respond, inventing contexts in which she can safely cooperate, being prepared to shift from reality into a dimension of play and fantasy. After a year of my "linguistics", she knows all about the tape-recorder and is thoroughly bored with it. Initially she was persuaded by the novelty of hearing herself on tape; now that novelty has worn off, it has become increasingly difficult to get her to perform at my convenience. Of the half-hour sessions some stand out as being particularly productive in terms of her participation in the interaction and in the range of expression she uses. A good example is the one here reproduced in transcript form, dated 23/11/1984.

3 TRANSCRIPT

To outline briefly what is happening - Eithne came in to where I was reading the paper in the kitchen and agreed to speak on the tape. She elected to tell a story and found an annual "Twinkle" and proceeded to outline several of the stories there.(not reproduced) I tried to persuade her to talk about what had happened that day, ending up with her in tears when asked about an incident in school. She much preferred the impersonal exercise of story-telling. (T57-83)

I then sent her upstairs to get Miffy, a favourite toy rabbit, which she did switching immediately into a much more cooperative mood, singing and laughing. We played a Red-riding-hood and the wolf game where I asked about Miffy's big eyes, ears, mouth and legs, to which she responded innovatively (T162), illustrating her answers (T170). She then directed the conversation to another toy, Mrs. Tittlemouse and went off to find her. (T188) She invented a story about her, reintroduced the carrot (T238) and set about providing food for both toys, with commentary.

My attempts to bring the conversation back to reality were given scant attention (T276), she was much more interested in her own game. Her attention was attracted to some extent when she invented an Irish version of Shepherds' Pie - Aoirí Tarta - and began thinking of outlandish replies to my queries about what she has for dinner (ridiculous queries anyway because I'm the one who provides the dinners and must know what's in them.) This quickly led to her growing bored with the whole affair and demanding an end to it.

The tape shows clearly then, evidence of the constraints I have spoken of - willingness to cooperate for a limited period, for the reward of hearing herself speak on the tape and also to please me. She rejects personal communication with her mother about an incident at school. There is a complete switch in the nature of the interaction when it develops into a game and return to lack of interest as the game peters out. Her interest is sustained as long as her terms are adhered to. While there are some grammatical inaccuracies, she always communicates. She has to resort to English for lexical items but there is only one complete code-switch during the game (T250) and that in fact constitutes a demand outside the game which she quickly corrects.

The language she uses though, in the game section, is spontaneous and in her role as Miffy or Mrs. Tittlemouse she is conducting everyday transactions. The running commentary she gives on her actions is unusual for her; this sort of natural monologue I had only ever heard from her in English before. She enters fully into the context of the game, carrying over appropriate language behaviour and showing a remarkable flow of Irish with only minor hesitation.

4 ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USED

There are many aspects of the content of this transcript worth examining - her noun morphology, use of prepositions, code switching, complex sentences. I intend to concentrate on one - her developing verb morphology and in particular her responses to questions.

Over the last year, I have observed her progress from a point where she loaded a single word, usually a noun, with enough intonation to convey the meaning of a complete sentence or assembled unanalysed chunks into an approximation of her meaning, from that to the point of this transcript and beyond. Evidence of this progress is clearly visible in the transcript. One example is her alternation between Future and Present Continuous forms of the verb "bheith" in an effort to find the required Pres. Cont., a form non-existent in English. I cannot say with any certainty whether her use of the Future form is based on a formal or a semantic similarity; I have noticed that she generally acquired Future forms before Present and used them, apparently indiscriminately for both tenses. She shows here (T72, 138, 168, 229, 300) that she is aware of a distinction, can reply appropriately and in one or two instances find the correct form for herself. A further example of her developing competence is to be found at T252. Lacking an alternative, she uses the most salient form she knows of the verb without adding an appropriate ending but with enough markers to make it an unmistakeable interrogative -"An oscail tú mé?" There is only a limited range of verbs used in this text but the extent to which she has refined her use of the past tense can be seen in her ability to prefix the required d' to "ith", a new element in her production. (T296)

Given the conditions under which she is operating, I find it difficult to understand the compulsion which forces these efforts, her continued search for the exact form to suit the occasion. It is in part the compulsion to achieve accurate communication but it seems also to have a momentum of its own.

Of particular relevance in this context is her whole approach to the answering of questions. When I reviewed the first recordings I made with her, I was worried by the inordinate number of questions that formed my share of the discourse, while her contribution was limited to answering, often in only one word. Many of the studies of child language pay special attention to the child's development of question forms but gave me no material with which to compare the answers Eithne was producing. I was afraid, not only that the type of language I had taped was unnatural, but also that her development of Irish would be affected by this one-sided interaction.

In fact, studies of mother-child discourse show this predominance of questioning by the mother to be quite normal in first language development. (Olsen-Fulero and Contorti, 1983) The questions serve a wide range of functions and according to the authors

"play a critical role in child development".

As well as enabling her to participate in an interaction while possessing only a minimum of vocabulary and syntax, this question-answer structure can be seen to have played an important role in Eithne's development of the verbal system of Irish. I have no information as to whether this also applies to Irish acquired as a first language.

Irish is a language without positive or negative answering particles -- there is no yes or no. Questions are answered by echoing the verb of the question. Mícheal O Siadhail has examined the system in Eriú 24 (O Siadhail 1973) where he notes that native speakers in various ways have adopted yes/no equivalents under the influence of the system of English.

When I first began to take an interest in Eithne's linguistic development a year ago, it seemed that she, and the other children in the Naíonra were using "tá" and "níl" as yes/no substitutes. These are possibly the most salient positive/negative elements in the data

presented to children by speakers who resist borrowing yes/no from English or using any of the Gaeltacht substitutes. (Certainly in the present transcript, appropriate forms of the substantive verb "bheith" were by far the most predominant.)

From the data presented to her, one might wonder how Eithne ever discovered the declarative form at all, much more so what motivates her relentless progression towards accuracy. From the tá/níl stage I mentioned above, it has been possible to observe a steady development. The first indication was a growing awareness of tense which is quite clear in her answer to the following question dated 10/2/84

M: Ar thάinig Santa chuig Eithne? E: Tá
M: Tá? E: Bhí

The same conversation goes on to show the beginnings of an answering system

M: Bhí ... cad a thug sé? E: Sindy
M: Thug sé Sindy duit? Ar thug sé Sindy do Róisin? E: Ní thug
M: Níor thug - ar thug sé Sindy do Cormac? E: Ní(r) thug

This led to errors in the case of the irregular verbs, where she tended, and still occasionally does so, to return the dependent form of the question. Her answering of "raibh" to the question "An raibh" is perhaps the most notable example. It is curious that it persists despite the fact that she now controlls the past tense of this verb and uses it frequently.

I was surprised by Eithne's ability to utilise this type of formal strategy in a highly profitable way. It not only revealed her grasp of the concept of an echo-stategy but also the depth of her committment to the VSO word order of Irish. The echo strategy is simple in that she needed only to isolate the salient verb and return it, but complex in that she did in fact distinguish a whole range of sentence initial particles - cad, cá, cé leis, cá háit, conas. She also distinguished copula + adj. forms which are similar in surface structure to questions involving verbs -

eg ar mhaith leat?
an féidir leat

Initially she had some difficulty in distinguishing between "ar" and "an" in these constructions, answering both "ar mhaith leat" and "an maith leat" (would you like and do you like) with "ba mhaith liom" (Iwould like) but as can be seen T146-149, this is no longer a problem. She is attentive to changes in meaning caused by these initial particles. This process seemed to be occurring at the same time as she was sorting out questions involving verbs.

I have no examples of her confusing forms like "an maith" with a verb form and answering *"mhaith", omitting the copula. She kept the two systems separate until the period reflected in this transcript - T307, 365-367, 376 where she begins overgeneralising, taking forms appropriate to copula +adj. constructions over into verbal constructions, on what basis it is difficult to say. "Is thaitin" is perhaps semantically similar to "Is maith" and even formally, both require use of a preposition to express the agent, but "thaitin" is a verb and is used with a subject in the question "Ar thaitin sé leat?" "Is bhfaca" is a verb to which she has often replied in the form "bhfaca". She has not yet correctly sorted out its past tense, confusion arising because its dependent form, used in the question "An bhfaca?" is completely dissimilar from the declarative "chonaic". To that extent it is a candidate for experimentation but the same cannot be said for "Is bhfaigheann". It seems counterproductive here to have chosen to transcend the system but there may be a positive benefit in that it shows increased awareness of the copula. From the beginning she used copula + adj. constructions freely but recently she has begun to extend its usage, being able to ask

"An é sin mo cheannsa?"

Whether she will ever make it beyond the stage of saying*"Tá sé mo chara" remains to be seen.

Along with the echoing strategy, she also acquired the ability to know when it could be used appropriately and when one might reformulate the answer with no or sea, or as in T255

M: Ar éirigh leat? E: Is féidir

Ability to answer yes/no questions may not seem such a huge achievement, but it is something that many learners of Irish never accomplish. It also played a crucial role for Eithne in that it seems

as though verbal forms first appear used in answering position and after that in independent usage, very much as in the process she can be seen to be developing here for the Pres. Cont. "bíonn".

There are other aspects of her control of syntax which did not appear overnight but which give evidence of dedicated attention to detail -

eg Ar mhaith leat mé chloisint ar an tâp?
Is féidir liom tumbles a dhéanamh
Caithfidh tú iasc a piocadh suas
Tá sé in am dinnéar a fháil

Again one is faced with an imponderable - why when she already controlls one language system, is she prepared to invest so much time and trouble in another which she can only perceive as being of limited use?

I have no ready explanation to account for it, but I feel it is a phenomenon well worth exploiting. The most obvious characteristic of her methods is a functional one - she ignores vast tracts of grammar and syntax, concentrating on what is required immediately for accurate communication of her message. Despite constraints, she is willing and eager to progress towards competence in a second language.

At the time this tape was made, the input had been largely from the Naíonra with some back-up from home. The result is, I think, impressive, not as an example of individual brilliance, but as an example of what can be achieved informally by children of this age.

M Inis dom anois, inis don táp cá raibh tusa anois díreach aula dtáinig tú isteach.	Tell me now, tell the tape where you were just now before you came in.
E Bhí mé ag Macdonalds inniú. (T59)	I was in Ms today.
M An bhfaigheann tú Pizza istigh i Macdonalds?	Do you get Pizza in Ms?
E Níor bhfaigheann tú Pizza.	You don't get Pizza.
M Cad a fhaigheann tú istigh i Macdonalds?	What do you get in Ms?
E Tá sé cogar.	Its a whisper.
M Bhuel cogar. Gaeilge le do thoil.	Well whisper, Irish please.
E I don't want to. Níor mhaith liom a thuilleadh.	I don't want any more.
M Píosa beag eile.	A little bit more.
E Ba mhaith liom scéal a léamh.	I want to read a story.
M Ach inis rudaí a dhein tú inniú. Ba mhaith leis an táp a chlos - cloisint faoi na rudaí go léir a dheineann cailín beag. Cad a dhéanann tú ar scoil gach lá? (T70)	But tell things you did today. The tape wants to hear about the things a little girl does. What do you do in school every day?
E Beidh mi - bí muid ag canadh.	We will - we sing.
M Bíonn sibh ag canadh?	You sing?
E Sea	Yes
M Aon rud eile?	Anything else?
E No - agus ag scríobh	No - and write
M An mbíonn sibh dána?	Are you bold?
E Ní bhíonn	No
M Dúirt Cormac go raibh tusa dána inniú.	Cormac said you were bold today.
(E starts to cry, throws over her chair and runs away.)	
M Tusa an cailín crosta. (T80)	You're the cross girl.
E ...léigh mé an scéal seo. Lá amháin bhí cat agus bhí madra beag. Cat beag agus madra beag. Agus bhí siad - ní raibh - bhí siad ag imirt chin-chin agus bhí an cat ag rith suas an crann agus bhí an muc ag rith suas an crann. Sin an méid.	I'll read this story. One day there was a cat and there was a little dog. A little cat and a little dog. And they were - they - they were playing chin-chin and the cat was running up the tree and the pig was running up the tree. That's all.
M Rith suas staighre agus faigh Miffy go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon Ghaeilge ag Miffy.	Run upstairs and get M till I see has M any Irish.
(E goes upstairs singing)	
E Dia dhuit! (T90)	Hello
M Dia dhuit Miffy. Cad é sin atá a rá agat? Cheap mé go raibh tusa ag caint as Gaeilge, an raibh?	Hello M. What's that you're saying? I thought you were talking Irish, were you?
E Bhí (laughing)	I was
M An bhfuil Gaeilge agatsa?	Do you speak Irish?
E Tá	Yes
M Cá háit a d'fhoghlaim tú an Ghaeilge?	Where did you learn I.

E Cogar.
M Cogar? Cén áit é sin? Abair le Eithne cá háit a d'fhoghlaim tú do chuid Ghaeilge.

E Tá sé cogar. I Eirinn. (T100)
M In Eirinn. An bhfuil sé deacair Gaeilge a fhoghlaim?
E Níl.
M Níl. An bhfuil mórán Gaeilge agat?
E Tá.
M Cé mhéad?
E Céad.
M Céad cad é?
E Gaeilge.
M Céad Gaeilge? Agus abair liom rud éigin eile go bhfeice mé - b'fhéidir nach bhfuil agat ach cúpla focal. (T110)

E (ar) mhaith leat - ar mhaith leat mé - eh - chloisint ar an táp?
M Ba mhaith liom i gcionn tamaill ach ba mhaith liom cúpla focal eile. Sin deich focal a chuala mé. Níor chuala mé céad focal uait. Seas suas, ní féidir liom tú a chlos. Cad as duit? An as an Fhrainc duitse?

E Níl. Neo.
M Cad as duit? Cár rugadh tú? Agus inis dom, cén dáth atá ort? (T120)

E Bán.
M An bhfuil tú cinnte?
E Tá.
M Cad a tharla duit? Tá tú rud beag liath. Cad a tharla duit?

E Níl fhios agam.
M Conas a d'éirigh tú liath?
E Bhí mé just - níl fhios agam. (T130)
M Sin an méid Gaeilge atá agat, an ea?
E No.
M An bhfuil níos mó Gaeilge ag Eithne ná mar atá agatsa?
E Mise.
M Bhuel, inis dom - inis dom cad a dhéanann tú an lá ar fad, thuas ansin sa seomra leapa?

E Bí mé ag léamh leab - scéal i gcóir Racoon agus bí mé ag léamh an páipéar. (laughing)
M Ar léigh tú aon rud suimiúil ins an pháipéar inniú? (T140)

A whisper
Whisper? Where's that?
Tell E where you learnt your Irish.
It's a secret. In Ireland.
In Ireland. Is it hard to learn Irish?
No.
No. Have you much Irish?
Yes.
How much?
A hundred.
A hundred what?
Irish.
A hundred Irish? Say something else till I see - maybe you only have a few words.
Would you like to hear me on the tape?
I would in a while but I'd like a few more words. That's 10 words I heard from you. I didn't hear 100 words. Stand up, I can't hear you. Where are you from? Are you from France?
No.
Where are you from?
Where were you born?
And tell me, what colour are you?
White.
Are you sure?
Yes.
What happened you? You're a little bit grey. What happened you?
I don't know.
How did you get grey?
I was just - I don't know.
That's all your Irish,is it

Has E more Irish than you have?
Me.
Well tell me - tell me what you do all day, up there in the bedroom.
I read boo - stories for R and I read the paper.
Did you read anything interesting in the paper today?

E Nyea - nyea.
M Nó inné?
Agus inis dom cad a dhéanann tú ag an deireadh seachtaine.
E Beidh mé ag snámh.
M O - an maith leat dul ag snámh?

E Is maith.
M An féidir leat snámh go maith?
E Is féidir.
M (Inis dom cén fáth a bhfuil cluasa chomh) fada sin ort. (T150)
E Cloisin daoine
M Cloiseann tusa na daoine nó cloiseann na daoine tusa?
E Cloiseann mise na daoine.
M Tuigim, agus tá súile ana-mhór ort freisin. Cén fáth é sin?
E Tá fhios agam. Feiceann daoine.
M Tuigim, agus tá béal cuíosach mór ort freisin. Cén fáth é sin? (T160)

E I gcóir ithe cairéidí móra.
M An é sin an rud is fearr leat, cairéidí?

E Sea. sea, ba mhaith liom cairéid.

M Gheobhaidh tú ceann nuair a bheidh tú críochnaithe.
Inis dom - tá cosa móra ort -

E Tá fhios agam
M Cad a dhéanann tú leis na cosa móra sin?

E Beidh mé ag léim
M Tuigim, agus cad eile? (T170)
E Beidh mé ag rith. Agus féidir liom - eh - eh - tumbles a dhéanamh. (with actions)
M O - tá tú ana-mhaith.
E Tá fhios agam.
M Ach an eireaball atá ort - tá sé sin ana-bheag, nach bhfuil?
E Tá fhios agam
M Cén fáth nach bhfuil eireaball níos mó ort?

E Níl fhios agam
M An bhfuil súile móra ar Eithne?
E Tá (T180)
M Cén fáth é sin?
E Níl fhios agam
M An cuimhin leat an scéal faoi Peter Rabbit, Peter Coinín?
E Sea

Or yesterday?
And tell me what you do at the week-end.
I'll be swimming.
Do you like going swimming?
Yes.
Can you swim well?
Yes.
Tell me why you have such big ears.
To hear people
You hear people or people hear you?
I hear people.
I see, and you have very big eyes too. Why's that?
I know. To see people.
I see, and you have a fairly big mouth too.
Why's that.
For eating big carrots.
Is that what you like best, carrots?
Yes, yes. I'd like a carrot.
You'll get one when you're finished.
Tell me - you've big feet -
I know
What do you do with those big feet?
I'll be jumping.
I see, and what else?
I'll be jumping. And I can do tumbles.
Oh - you're very good.
I know.
But your tail, that's very small, isn't it?
I know
Why haven't you got a bigger tail?
I don't know
Has E got big eyes?
Yes
Why's that?
I don't know
Do you remember the story about Peter R.?
Yes

M Inis don táp faoin scéal sin. Níor mhaith leat - ní maith leat an scéal sin?

Tell the tape about that story. You don't want to - you don't like that story?

E O _ is maith. Lá amháin bhí Mrs Tiddlemouse - tá Mrs Tiddlemouse mo chara - tá scéal agam ó

Oh - I do. One day, Mrs T - Mrs T is my friend. I have a story about -

Gheobhaidh mé an leabhar faoi (í) - faoi Mrs Tiddlemouse (T190)

I'll get the book about (her) about Mrs T

(Goes to get the book and comes back with a toy mouse and a book, not the one she went to find)

E Dia dhuit!

Hello!

M Dia dhuit Mrs Tittlemouse! Ní raibh fhios agam gur sin an t-ainm atá ortsa. Cá mbíonn tusa i do chónaí?

Hello Mrs T! I didn't know that was your name. Where do you live?

E Isteach sa - leaba Roisín

In the - Roisin's bed.

M Tuigim, agus tá scéal agat, an bhfuil?

I see, and you have a story, have you?

E Tá

Yes

M Bhuel, inis dom faoin scéal atá agat. (T200)

Well, tell me about your story.

E Cad é - tá sé an leabhar seo - níl an page sin - no - bhí mé ag dul amach agus lá amháin bhí tusa - let's see

What - it's this book - not this page - I was going out and one day you were

M Gabh mo leithscéal. Sin leabhar aisteach. Cad a dhéanann tú leis an leabhar sin?

Excuse me. That's a funny book. What do you do with that book?

E O bhuel - tá sé - tá fuinneog istigh anseo.

Oh well - it's - there's a window in here.

M Agus cad tá taobh thiar den fhuinneog? O - éan mór!

And what's behind the window? Oh - a big bird.

E Agus lá amháin bhí giant agus bhí mé - bhí sé ag seasamh orm.

And one day there was a giant and I was - he was standing on me.

M An raibh? Nach eisean a bhí dána. (T210)

Was he? Wasn't he bold.

E Agus bhí éan agus bhí sé ag fháil mé i gcóir a dhinnéar agus bhí mé sa jungle agus bhí sssss snakes

And there was a bird and he was getting me for his dinner and I was in the jungle and there were sssss

M Nathair nimhe?

Snakes?

E Agus bhí mé sa jungle agus bhí piggy-back agam

And I was in the jungle and I had a piggy-back.

M Conas a ndeachaigh tú isteach sa jungle?

How did you get to the jungle?

E Caithfidh tú dul go dtí America - bhí mé i Meiricea

You have to go to A. I was in A.

M An ndeachaigh tú ar an mbád?

Did you go on the boat?

E Sea agus

Yes and -

M Chuaigh mise go Meiricea ar an eitleán (T220)

I went to A by plane.

E Agus chuaigh mé go dtí New York ar an mbád. Sin an méid.

And I went to NY on the boat. That's all.

M Sin an méid. Bhuel Mrs Tig - Tittlemouse tá míle buíochas ag gabháil duit. Go raibh míle maith agat.
E Fáilte romhat.
M An maith leatsa Miffy ansin?
E Is maith. Tá sé mo chara.
M An ea? An mbíonn sibh ag súgradh le chéile?

E Bíonn
M Cén saghas cluichí a imríonn sibh? (230)

E Mamaís agus Dadaís - em - cats in the corner - sin cluiche le - em - iascannaí - caithfidh tú iasc a piocadh suas le - em - hook, fishing rod

M An maith le Miffy iasc a ithe?
E Is maith.
M Cinnte? Níor chuala mise faoi coinín ag ithe éisc riamh?
E Nach maith leat? Is maith. Ba mhaith liom cairéad.
M Bhuel cuir ceist ar Eithne agus b'fhéidir go bhfaighfidh sise cairéad duit. (240)

E Agus píosa cáis duitse.

M Níor chuala mé. Ar iarr Miffy ort go deas béasach cairéad a fháil dó? Cad a dúirt sé?

E Sea. Ba mhaith liom cairéad.
M Abair é sin ós ard.
E Ba mhaith le Mrs Tittlemouse píosa cáis.

M OK Faigh tusa dóibh é.
E Cá bhfuil na cairéidí? Istigh ansin. Sea. Istigh ansin. Mammy will you open this knot?
M Níor chuala mé thú. (250)
E An oscail tú mé an knot seo?

M Níor chuala mé sin.
E O - tá sé all right.
M Ar éirigh leat é a oscailt?
E Is féidir. An ceann seo, no, an ceann seo. ( ) féidir leatsa ...?
M An bhfuil sé glán?
E Níl.
M Ar chóir duit é a ní?
E Sea. Sin í! (washing the carrot) (260)
M Ceapaim gur maith le Miffy cairéidí. Tá sí ag tnúth leis. Brostaigh ort Eithne, brostaigh ort Eithne.
E Now ith an ... agus beidh an píosa cáis agat i gceann nóiméid. (Ba mhaith liom) scian.

That's all. Well Mrs T we're very grateful to you. Thank you very much.
You're welcome.
Do you like Miffy there?
Yes. He's my friend.
Is he? Do you play together?
Yes.
What sort of games do you play?

that's a game with fish - you have to pick up a fish with a hook,
Does M like eating fish?
Yes
Sure? I never heard of a rabbit eating fish.
Don't you? Yes. I'd like a carrot.
Well ask E and maybe she'll get a carrot for you.
And a piece of cheese for you.
I didn't hear. Did M ask you nice and politely to get him a carrot? What did he say?
Yes. I'd like a carrot.
Say that out loud.
Mrs T would like a piece of cheese.
You get it for them.
Where are the carrots?
In there. Yes. In there.
I didn't hear you.
Will you open me this knot?
I didn't hear that.
Oh it's all right.
Were you able to open it?
I can. This one, no, this one. Can you ...?
Is it clean?
No
Should you wash it?
Yes. That's it.
I think M likes carrots.
She can't wait for it.
Hurry up E, hurry up E.
Now eat the ... and you'll have the piece of cheese

(goes to get a knife)
M Bí cúramach leis an scian sin!

E O - beidh mé cúramach. Blarney - is maith le Mrs Tittlemouse Blarney. (280)
M An maith?
E Is maith - tá sé a cáis favouritesa.

M Abair é sin arís.
E Tá sé a cáis favourite leat. Favourite cheese.
M Is fearr liomsa Brie ná an cáis sin Blarney. Cén cáis is fearr leatsa Eithne?

E Blarney agus Cheshire.
M An dóigh leat ... cén cáis is fearr le Roisín?

E Brie. Dhá píosa i gcóir ... (280)
M Is fearr le Roisín Brie? Agus cad faoi Cormac?

E Is maith le é Blarney.
M Níl aon rud ar an radio agus níl aon teilifís againn. Cad a dhéanfaimid anocht.

E Níl fhios agam.
M Beidh orainn leabhar a léamh.
E Seo, seo dhuit! Now - nyum, nyum! Féach Mamaí!

M Tá mé ag féachaint. Ní dóigh liom gur féidir léi an méid sin cáis a ithe. Tá an iomarca agat ansin, nach bhfuil? Beidh Mrs Tittlemouse, beidh sí tinn má itheann sí an méid sin cáis. (290)

E Níl mé tinn, níl mé.
M Bhuel beidh tú.
E Cabbage away (preparing a leaf of cabbage for Miffy)
M Agus ar ith seisean an cairéad mór sin?

E Ith - d'ith.
M Agus an bhfuil sibh sásta anois, an beirt agaibh?
E Tá.
M Tá. Cad a bhíonn agaibh de gnáth don dinnéar?

E Beidh cairéad ag Mrs Tittlemouse agus beidh - bíonn cáis ag Miffy. (300)
(laughing)
M Coinín ag ithe cáise?
E laughs
M Cad a bhíonn ag Eithne de gnáth don dinnéar?

in a minute. I want a knife.
Be careful with that knife!
Oh - I will be careful. Blarney - Mrs T likes B.
Does she?
Yes - it's her favourite cheese.
Say that again.
It's her cheese ...
I prefer Brie to that Blarney cheese. Which cheese do you prefer E?

Do you think ... which cheese does Roisín like best?
Two pieces for ...
Roisín likes Brie best?
And what about Cormac?
He likes Blarney.
There's nothing on the radio and we've no TV
What will we do tonight?
I don't know.
We'll have to read a book.
Here, here you are!
Look Mammy!
I'm looking. I don't think she can eat that much cheese. You've too much there, haven't you? Mrs T, she'll be sick if she eats that much cheese.
I'm not sick, I'm not.
Well you will be.
And did he eat that big carrot?
Yes.
And are you satisfied now, the two of you?
Yes
Yes. What do you usually have for dinner?
Mrs T will have a carrot and M will - has cheese.

A rabbit eating cheese?

What does E usually have for dinner?

E Níl fhios agam	I don't know
M Nach bhfaigheann tusa aon dinnéar?	Don't you get any dinner?
E Is bhfaigheann	Yes, I do
M Cad a fhaigheann tú?	What do you get?
E Eh - Mrs Tittlemouses - níl fhios agam.	Eh - Mrs Ts - I don't know
M Cad a fhaigheann tusa don dinnéar? (310)	What do you get for dinner?
E Shepherds' Pie	
M Faigheann tú Shepherds' Pie. An bhfaigheann tú aon rud eile?	You get Shepherds'Pie. Do you get anything else?
E Aoirí Tarta, Aoirí Tarta.	Shepherds' Pie.
M Cén saghas tarta é sin?	What sort of pie is that?
Shepherds' Pie, Aoirí Tarta.	
M An ceart agat, Tarta Aoirí. Agus nach bhfaigheann tú aon rud eile seachas Tarta Aoirí?	You're right, Shepherds' Pie. And do you not get anything besides SP
E Deoch.	A drink.
M An bhfaigheann - nach bhfaigheann tú tarta úll don dinnéar? (320)	Do you - do you not get apple tart for dinner?
E Sea, sea.	Yes, yes.
M Agus nach bhfaigheann tú stéic agus sceallóga?	And do you not get steak and chips?
E Sea, sea.	Yes, yes.
M Bhuel cad faoi, nach bhfuil aon rud eile go bhfaigheann tú?	Well what about, is there nothing else you get?
E Sicín, sceallóga, tae, mince meat.	Chicken, chips, tea, mincemeat.
M Cén dinnéar is fearr leat?	What dinner do you like best?
E Marbles.	
M Eh - don dinnéar? Tá tú ag magadh fúm. (330)	For yourdinner? You're making fun of me.
E No - eh - ispíní agus sceallóga. Mammy I don't want to speak any more. Ba mhaith liom éist le mo ghlór.	No - sausages and chips. I'd like to listen to my voice.
M Cén fáth? Inis dom cén fáth gur mhaith leat éisteacht leat féin?	Why? Tell me why you want to listen to yourself.
E Níor mhaith liom thuilleadh. Tá mé ...	I don't want (any) more I'm ...
M Cén fáth? Tá tú tuirseach?	Why? You're tired
E Sea	Yes
M Ar mhaith leat dul a chodladh?	Would you like to go to bed?
E Níor mhaith (tries to switch off tape) (340)	No
M Gabh mo leithscéal. Just fág é cúpla nóiméad ^eile. Inis cad tá tú ag dul a dhéanamh amárach.	Excuse me. Just leave it for a few more minutes. Tell what you're going to do tomorrow.
E Dul ar scoil	Go to school.
M Tá tú ag dul ar scoil amárach?	You're going to school tomorrow?
E Níl, tá mé ag dul go dtí Aifreann. ( ) amárach Domhnach?	No, I'm going to Mass. ( ) tomorrow Sunday?

M Ní hea. Amárach an Sathairn.	No. Tomorrow is Saturday.
E Beidh mé ag dul go dtí an Top Shop.	I'll be going to the TS
M Cad a bhfaighfidh tú ins an Top Shop?	What will you get in the Top Shop?
E Milseáin. (350)	Sweets.
M Cé thabharfaidh na milseáin duit?	Who'll give you the sweets?
E An siopadóir.	The shopkeeper.
M Cad a dhéarfaidh tú leis an siopadóir?	What will you say to the shopkeeper?
E Ba mhaith liom milseáin.	I want some sweets.
M Cén sórt milseáin?	What sort of sweets?
E Níl fhios agam cén cinn a bhfuil sin.	I don't know what sort there are.
M Inis dom - cuir ceist ar Miffy, ar mhaith leis dul suas go dtí an leaba?	Tell me - ask M does he want to go to bed.
Os ard.	Out loud.
E Miffy, ar mhaith leat dul go dtí n leaba?	M, do you want to go to bed?
M Abair leis an bhfuil tuirse air. (360)	Ask him is he tired.
E Níl.	No, he's not.
M Cuir ceist air ar thaitin an cairéad leis.	Ask him did he like the carrot.
E Is thaitin.	He did.
M Agus abair leis an bhfaca sé Mrs Tittlemouse aon áit.	And say to him did he see Mrs T anywhere.
E	
M Níor - ach níl cead agat bheith ag caint as Bearla. Abair é as Gaeilge. (370)	You're not allowed to be speaking in English. Say it in Irish.
E Mrs Tittlemouse ...	M, did you see Mrs T anywhere?
M Miffy, An bhfaca tú Mrs Tittlemouse aon áit?	Did you?
An bhfaca?	I did. Behind.
E Is bhfaca. Taobh thiar.	She's there. I think she's
M Tá sí ansin. Ceapaim go bhfuil sí tuirseach Tá sé in am dí siúd dul a luí.	tired. It's time for her to go to bed.
E Níl sé.	It's not.
M Tá. (380)	It is.
E Tá sé in am dinnéar a fháil.	It's time to get dinner.
M Tar éis an méid sin cáis a ithe. Beidh tú tinn. Tá tú tinn cheana féin. Feicim. Féach an bolg ort. O Mrs Tittlemouse, mo náire thú!	After eating all that cheese. You'll be sick. You're sick already. I see. Look at your tummy. Oh Mrs T, shame on you.
E Féach ar seo Miffy.	Look at this, Miffy.
M OK An bhfuil tusa ag dul a luí?	Are you going to bed.
E Tá na daoine seo ag dul a luí.	These people are going to bed.
M An múchfaidh mé an táp?	Will I turn off the tape?
E Sea. Ba mhaith liom é a chloisint.	Yes. I want to listen to it.

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Note

In so far as Eithne's utterances were intelligible, I have transcribed them into standard Irish, with occasional English where there was obvious code-switching. ( ) indicate an element, which was not clearly audible, may or may not have been present. Major hesitation is marked - em -

The translation is intended as a guide only; it reflects Eithne's production as understood by me. Some of her utterances could well be interpreted in other ways.

SCHOOLING THROUGH L_2 - ITS EFFECT ON COGNITIVE AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

The phenomenon of bilingualism as it occurs in modern industrialized societies has been the subject of a great deal of scrutiny by investigators for a number of decades now. Language contact in pre-literate societies more typically produced varieties of pidgins and creoles which tend to be regarded as unacceptable in societies which place a high emphasis on literacy. Increasingly there is a tacit acceptance that a bilingual refers to a person who has competence to generate, in unplanned situations, novel utterances in either of two languages. The utterances in either language are expected to be intelligible to monolingual speakers of that language, and should be widely acceptable as being well-formed. Schools have frequently been given responsibility for producing such bilinguals and second/foreign language immersion programmes have emerged as a significant modus operandi - sometimes out of necessity but frequently out of choice. The present paper addresses itself to one such programme, Irish language medium primary schooling in the Dublin area, and asks if it can be as successful as English language medium schooling in fostering the cognitive and academic development of its pupils.

Background

The effectiveness of schooling through the learner's weaker language has for decades been a contentious issue among psychologists, educationalists and administrators. Darcy (1953), in a review of the literature on the effects of bilingualism on intelligence, found a considerable body of evidence to support each of the three possible outcomes - positive effects, negative effects and no effects. No

clear distinction is made in his review between studies which involved bilingualism as a naturally occurring societal phenomenon and those which involved various forms of bilingual schooling. A decade later (Darcy 1963) the major trends in the research questions of the intervening years and the findings from empirical research had not changed substantially. It was generally accepted that bilingualism and bilingual schooling had no influence on a child's level of non-verbal reasoning ability but a majority suggested that it hindered the development of verbal reasoning. A more egalitarian approach to the provision of educational opportunity emerged during the sixties and with it a profusion of bilingual education programmes. One also detects a greater acceptance of diversity in cultural identity at this time and this also led to the emergence of bilingual schooling or schooling through a weaker language, as a means of providing societies with greater numbers of balanced bilinguals. Bilingual education has by now two separate connotations based on two diametrically opposed assumptions, one associated with what has been termed 'folk bilingualism' and the other 'elitist bilingualism' (Gaarder 1972). The former is based on the belief that the most effective means of educating a child is through the medium of his mother tongue even though he belongs to a minority language group which, it is hoped, will eventually become annexed to the dominant culture (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1975). Elitist bilingual schools are so called because their pupils are generally members of the dominant linguistic grouping who have accepted the legitimacy of other linguistic groups and have chosen to become integrated with them as a means of expanding their own cultures rather than having them subsumed.

Many of the more recent reports of research on the cognitive and academic development of children in bilingual programmes give inadequate descriptions of the language patterns of the groups being investigated. As in previous decades the results of these investigations likewise do not create a clear pattern. On the negative side Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) report what has been termed 'semi-lingualism' (Hansegard 1968) among Finnish migrant

children attending Swedish comprehensive schools. While the concept of semilingualism is difficult to pin down precisely, it refers generally to a less than normal competence in each of two languages with resultant communicative, intellectual and emotional problems. Myres and Goldstein (1979) report lower than normal levels of verbal reasoning ability among lower class English-Spanish Puerto-Rican school children. Japanese-English bilingual children in grades 4 and 5 were reported to be inferior to a monolingual control group in terms of verbal and academic skills (Tsushima, Hogan 1975). Similar inferiority among bilinguals has been reported in the case of divergent thinking (Torrance, Gowan, Wu and Aliotti 1970), vocabulary scores (Ben Zeev 1977), general academic performance (Macnamara 1966), arithmetic problem solving ability (Macnamara 1969). On the positive side the following features are reported: increased cognitive flexibility, creativity and divergent thought (Lambert and Macnamara 1969; Ianco-Worrall 1972); greater metalinguistic awareness (Cummins 1978; Cummins and Mulcahy 1978); higher levels of arithmetic and computational skills (Tucker, Lambert and d'Anglejan 1973) and increased performance levels in tests of L_1 skills (Swain 1975; Geneese 1976)

The explanations for these apparently contradictory findings fall into four main categories based on the following criteria:

1. Linguistic factors. Included here are
   (a) The 'balance effect' hypothesis which claims that the acquisition of proficiency in L_2 is associated with retardation in the development of L_1 skills (Macnamara 1966).
   (b) The 'mismatch' hypothesis which claims that academic retardation results from home/school language switch (Cardenas and Cardenas 1972; Downing 1974).
2. Socio-cultural factors (Brent-Palmer 1978).
3. School related factors (Bowen 1977).
4. Interactions between factors 1, 2 and 3 (Cummins 1979).

The present study is based on an interactional paradigm. This suggests that in certain socio-cultural situations the language medium of the school may have positive effects on the cognitive and academic development of pupils while in others the effects may be negative. One explanation for this position is based on Cummins' twin hypotheses - 'the threshold hypothesis' and 'the developmental interdependence hypothesis'. These claim that a high level of proficiency in a second language is more likely to be achieved if the learner has already a high level of what is termed 'cognitive and academic language proficiency' (CALP) before being introduced to L_2. CALP refers to those aspects of language proficiency which are associated with verbal reasoning ability and other aspects of academic achievement. It is claimed that unless one has a certain minimum threshold level of CALP in L_1 before being introduced to L_2 then the bilingual experience is likely to hinder the development of both languages. A high level of CALP in L_1 will transfer to L_2 allowing bilingualism to become an enriching experience. Socio-economic status (SES) and non-verbal reasoning ability are important determinants of CALP. One may therefore expect, on the basis of the hypotheses, that for working class children who have a low level of non-verbal reasoning ability, a second language immersion programme may lead to retardation in academic development, while the achievement of middle class children with high non-verbal reasoning ability will be enhanced. Non-verbal reasoning ability is considered to be an independent variable since no previous study has found that either bilingualism or immersion programmes influence it (Macnamara 1970).

The Sample

The sample was composed of an 'experimental' group (N=73) drawn from three Dublin Irish language medium primary schools and a control group (N=68) drawn from English medium schools situated in the immediate locality of the Irish medium schools. All subjects were in 5th standard. The experimental group was divided into 'working class' (N=30) and 'middle class' (N=43) on the basis of

their father's occupations using the 'Hall-Jones occupational scale for males'. Each socio-economic grouping was further sub-divided into three units corresponding to high (H), medium (M) and low (L) levels of non-verbal reasoning ability for purposes of statistical analysis. This gave a total of six cells each of which was matched to similar cells drawn from English medium schools (EMSc). A language background questionnaire completed by children from Irish medium schools (IMSc) revealed that English was the dominant language used in 90% of their homes.

The Tests

1. Raven's Progressive Matrices
2. Drumcondra Verbal Reasoning Test
3. Drumcondra Attainment Tests, Level III, Form A
   (a) English Comprehension
   (b) English Vocabulary
   (c) Mathematics - Computation
   (d) Mathematics - Problem Solving
   (e) Irish Comprehension

((d) was translated into Irish and the translation standardized using a group of children from Irish medium schools (N=33) who were not participating in the main study. IMSc children took the Irish form of this test).

Results and Discussion

It was found that the language background of IMSc children did not significantly influence scores derived from each of the tests administered when SES and non-verbal reasoning ability were controlled. The two-way analysis of variance technique used, revealed that the most dramatic difference found between school types is in the scores obtained from the Irish comprehension test. The full extent of the influence of school type is most likely underestimated in the present analysis since very many members of the IMSc sample reached the test ceiling. A similarly unambiguous result was found in the case of scores derived from the verbal reasoning test.

Table 1

Cell Means and F-ratio Coefficients

MC Results

	Cell Means						F-ratio		
	IMSc			EMSc					
	H	M	L	H	M	L	Between Schools	Between NVR Levels	Inter-action
Non-verbal Reasoning	129.06	116.82	98	128	117.1	97.63			
Verbal Reasoning	127.3	121.23	114.18	127.86	121.76	111	.045	23.39*	.49
English Comprehension	121.6	114.6	111.64	110.83	112.78	109.36	3.33	1.48	1.23
English Vocabulary	120.91	113.5	110	115.84	113.85	106.82	1.6	7.72*	.72
Mechanical Arithmetic	117.57	105.86	108.36	106.11	104.93	99.91	5.14*	4.55*	2.15
Problem Arithmetic	115.45	104.5	103.27	106.09	101.64	97.63	5.53*	5.80*	.68
Irish Comprehension	130.69	129.68	125.55	98.3	99.6	95.75	215.25*	1.56	.71
				WC Results					
Non-verbal Reasoning	125	114.8	89.2	121.36	113.3	90.1			
Verbal Reasoning	122.5	113.3	98.9	118.09	116	103.9	.01	20.91*	.82
English Comprehension	112.7	115.2	101.1	112.8	104	93.1	4.55*	10.26*	1.27
English Vocabulary	109.3	113.6	103.5	109.6	98.45	99.2	4.10*	2.17	2.09
Mechanical Arithmetic	111.3	106.1	98.9	106.27	102.9	94.7	1.64	4.7*	.1
Problem Arithmetic	105.6	100.8	96.3	111.2	99.91	91	0	10.16*	1.39
Irish Comprehension	126.1	125.4	116.8	93.2	89.91	85	127*	3.19*	.13

*Significant at .01 level

The language medium of the school was not a significant determinant of scores for either the WC or the MC sample.

A great deal of caution needs to be exercised when interpreting the remaining results if some of the apparent inconsistencies are to be explained. The MC sample in IMSc appears superior in mathematical ability but this superiority does not hold for the WC sample. A likely explanation for this result is that the MC sample from the EMSc had lower scores than might be predictable for such a group. Because the scores for the WC sample from EMSc are closer to what might be expected for this group the between school differences disappear. One may reasonably conclude, therefore, that the language medium of the school did not exert an independent influence on the mathematics scores.

Table 2 shows the significance of the independent influence of SES on scores as calculated by an analysis of covariance technique. The values obtained in the case of EMSc 'English Comprehension' and 'Problem Arithmetic' were got from a test of the homogeneity of the regression lines of the WC and MC samples. These values show that the independent influence of SES was significant only for those with lower levels of non-verbal reasoning ability.

Table 2

The Independent Influence of SES
Summary of Tests of Significance

	F-Ratio	
	IMSc	EMSc
Verbal Reasoning	6.91*	10.71*
English Comprehension	2.26	6.83* (interaction)
English Vocabulary	2.8	7.79*
Mechanical Arithmetic	1.55	0
Problem Arithmetic	4.01*	10.93* (interaction)
Irish Comprehension	2.6	4.75*

*Significant at .01 level

SES exercised a strong independent influence on all but one set of scores derived from the EMSc sample. A similar influence was not found in the case of the academic achievement scores of the IMSc sample, suggesting that the WC section of this sample is not subject to the depressing influence of SES that exists in the case of their counterparts in EMSc. It is clear, for example, that the superiority of the IMSc WC sample in English vocabulary and comprehension is due to the failure of SES to depress their scores. One cannot give a definitive explanation for this occurrence but it seems especially unlikely that the language medium of the school could be responsible. The trend does not hold in the case of verbal reasoning ability scores which could be expected to be more independent of teaching techniques and the conscious control of parents than would be the case for scores from tests of academic achievement. This leads one to tentatively suggest that it is these latter factors, rather than the language medium of the school, that are responsible for the trend.

Conclusion

Irish language medium primary schools sampled in this study were particularly successful in giving their pupils a high proficiency in Irish language comprehension. A similar level was not reached by English language medium schools which spent at least one hour per day teaching Irish as a separate subject. Evidence from the study suggests that pupils in IMSc did not have to suffer a lowering of their potential academic standards in order to achieve high L_2 proficiency, i.e. results did not support the 'balance effect' hypothesis. While pupils from IMSc were superior to their counterparts from EMSc in a number of areas the evidence does not suggest that this superiority could be attributed specifically to the language medium of the school.

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THE POTENTIAL FOR IRISH-ENGLISH DUAL-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

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Coláiste Phádraig, Baile Átha Cliath

1.0 The enthusiastic establishment of so-called 'all-Irish' primary schools outside the Gaeltacht during the past fifteen years has come to contrast markedly with what has often been perceived to be the general decline of the Irish language as a school subject over the same period (e.g. Andrews, 1978). The study by Harris (1984) provides evidence of the considerable difference in achievement by pupils of both types of school (cf. pp. 7-8): 12 of the 16 speaking and listening objectives of the NuachÚrsaí Conversation courses measured by Béaltriail Ghaeilge I.T.É. - IV were mastered by less than 50% of pupils, but the rate for those attending 'All-Irish' schools was 97%. The recent growth in 'all-Irish' schooling has not been paralleled by any such resurgence in bilingual schooling, despite the fact that the survey of Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984) reports five times as much support for bilingual as for 'All-Irish' instruction, 21% as opposed to 4%. Harris (1984, p. 144) was moved to suggest that there would be considerable support for bilingual programmes bridging the poles of the 'all-Irish' approach, in which the language of instruction and the school in general is Irish, and the restricting of Irish to subject lesson periods, and he suggested that specific programmes might be more successful than 'encouraging limited Irish-medium instruction in a more generalised way as happens....now'. A similar concern has prompted this paper, which sketches very briefly the history of dual-medium education in Ireland, examines its present extent and state and makes some suggestions as to the type of institutional framework which would be necessary if bilingual schools are to offer a vibrant alternative to both their English and Irish single-medium counter-parts.

2.0 Constraints of time and space clearly preclude a detailed survey of the fortunes of the Irish language within the National School system established in 1831. However, a brief outline of the major stages in the integration of the Irish language into the system may help not only to trace the changes in its relative position but also the perception interested parties had of the importance being accorded to it.

The National School system as set up in Ireland in 1831 had no place for the Irish language, either as an object of study or as a medium of instruction. This was the case despite the fact that the proportion of children born in the 32 counties in the decade 1831-1841 which Fitzgerald (1984, p. 127 and map 7) has estimated as Irish-speaking was 28%.

This all-English educational system established by the London-centred State reflected on the one hand the language change from Irish to English which had already taken place in much of the country and was in fact even then gathering momentum in the Irish-speaking areas of the South and West, and on the other hand of course it facilitated the language changeover by giving it added impetus. However, it needs to be borne in mind that the uniformity of usage of English as a medium of instruction throughout the National School system to some extent masked two quite different linguistic settings: (1) In those areas where the language switch to English had already taken place the pupils were being taught through the medium of their native or home language; (ii) In those areas where Irish was still the vernacular a massive programme of total immersion in the second language was being undertaken. In the vast majority of cases this second approach had the active support of parents, who often reinforced the school stance with what may seem to us today to have been a brutal disciplinarianism. (cf. Ó Murchú, n.d., pp. 20-21).

If there were Irish people who doubted the wisdom of the language practice of the National School system, few braved to pierce the Great Silence, as Seán de Fréine (1978) has so aptly described the public atmosphere in which the language change took place. Thomas Davis did so in The Nation in 1843, as did the redoubtable Archbishop of Tuam, John Mac Hale - the 'lion of the West'. Sir Patrick Keenan, Inspector of Schools and later a Commissioner of Education, tellingly showed up the deficienceis of this system in Co. Donegal in his General Reports of 1855 and 1856. But it was not until 1879 that Irish was admitted to the Primary Curriculum as an optional extra subject. This advance was due to the vigorous lobbying of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, founded in 1876. The Commissioners of Education adopted a resolution in 1878 stating that they were 'prepared to grant Results' fees for proficiency in the Irish Language, on the same conditions as are applicable to Greek, Latin and French.' From 1883 Irish could be used as a medium of instruction in Irish-speaking areas 'as an aid to the elucidation of English' (Coolahan, 1981, p. 21). Whereas the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language had been concerned 'To promote that the Irish Language shall be taught in the Schools of Ireland, especially in the Irish-speaking

districts' The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, sought that 'the national language shall be the medium of instruction in the National Schools in those districts where it is the hone language of the people, and that greater facilities than at present be afforded for its teaching in the National and Intermediate Schools in all parts of the country.' (Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann, 1961).

After overcoming some temporary difficulties the Gaelic League secured the position of Irish as an optional subject within the ordinary National School programme from 1901 and further succeeded in obtaining The Bilingual Programme of 1904. In accordance with this Programme the whole school work in Irish-speaking and bilingual districts could be conducted on bilingual lines. Patrick Pearse, influenced by his experiences of Wales and Belgium was writing a month later (24.9.1904):

> Though it seems paradoxical, it is a profound truth that it is easier to teach two languages than to teach one. If we had the direction of education in this country we should make all education bilingual, and should require the teaching of at least two languages to every child in every school in the country..... It would be as easy to work the Commissioners' Bilingual Programme in a Dublin or Belfast school as it is to work the present unilingual programme (Ó Buachalla, 1980, p.53).

As was his custom Pearse backed up his theoretical contention with the practical example of a school, namely St. Enda's School for Boys, which he established in 1908 and was described by him as being 'bilingual in method'. A Prospectus of the following year tells us:

> In the general curriculum the first place is accorded to the Irish Language, which is taught as a spoken and literary tongue to every pupil.....Irish is established as the official language of the School, and is, as far as possible, the ordinary medium of communication between teachers and pupils.
> .....
> All teaching other than language teaching is bilingual - that is to say each subject is taught both in Irish and English. (ibid., p.317).

We are also informed:

> As regards procedure, occasionally a lesson is given in Irish only or in English only; but the rule is, whether the subject be Christian Doctrine or Algebra, Nature-Study or Latin, to teach the lesson first in Irish and then repeat it in English, or vice versa. In such subjects as Dancing and Physical Drill English can practically be dispensed with. As a general medium of communication between masters and pupils in the schoolroom Irish is the more commonly used of the two vernaculars. (ibid., p. 325)

Public Notice No. 4 issued by the Ministry of Education of the Irish Provisional Government on 1st February 1922 decreed: 'Concerning the Teaching of Irish Language in the National Schools' that from 17th March 1922:

(1) The Irish Language shall be taught or used as a medium of instruction, for not less than one full hour each day in all national schools where there is a teacher competent to teach it. (Hannigan, 1984, p. 72)

This decision followed on the adoption of a report at a conference convened by the I.N.T.O. in 1921. It included the statement that 'the work of the infant school is to be entirely in Irish'. A later conference in 1926 allowed English to be used before 10.30 a.m. and after 2.00 p.m. Various changes increasing and decreasing the amount of time spent teaching through Irish occurred between the twenties and the sixties. The statistics for all-Irish Primary Schools over the same years offer a good indication of the way the wind first blew strongly, then slackened, before virtually dying away in the sixties. In 1931 there were 228 all-Irish Primary schools, in 1939 there were 704 and 1951 the number was 523 (cf. Coolahan 1981, pp. 40-43).

3.0 The distinction mentioned already between 'all-Irish' schools and those teaching Irish as a subject only is not as clear-cut as it may seem. Firstly, in theory at least, the latter would appear not to exist at all. The latest edition of Rules for National Schools (An Roinn Oideachais, 1965) allows individual teachers of infant classes to transfer the emphasis from teaching through Irish to the teaching of Irish Conversation but teaching through Irish is regarded as the norm. Furthermore, 'A teacher who is able to teach Irish, but is unable to use Irish as the sole medium of instruction, is required to teach Irish as a subject and to use it as much as possible as the medium of instruction and as the school language.' (p. 39) Similarly the Teacher's Handbook (An Roinn Oideachais, 1970, Part I, pp. 55-6) states (in translation): 'The teacher and the pupils should not be bound by the amount of Irish in the lessons, nor by the amount of time which is spent on the formal teaching of Irish. Irish should be generally used inside the school and outside it - when the children are working and when they are at play; it is in Irish that the normal directions of the school will be given, that the normal conversation of the class, words of praise and correction and the normal greetings will be.' 'As the curriculum is a unit in which the various activities are integrated, Irish will be in use to a greater or lesser extent during all activities. Its use will be extended as the knowledge and ability of the pupils in Irish develops. The extent of its use will depend on the age and the maturity of the pupils. The simple normal prayers and the normal greetings could be said in Irish. The conversation lessons will be joined to the other curriculum activities ' The Handbook then proceeds to outline briefly how Irish could be linked to Physical Education, Music, Environmental Studies and Projects on various aspects of the curriculum. And then secondly,

while the actual practice falls very far short of these official guidelines, some instructional use is made of Irish outside the formal language classes in a minority of schools, in approximately 36% of them according to the Department of Education's Statistical Report for 1981-82, which incidently is the latest published and only became available in December of 1984 (An Roinn Oideachais). The medium of instruction in the Republic's primary schools is there set out as follows (Table 20, p. 31, in translation):

(i) Schools in which all classes are taught completely through Irish
In the Gaeltacht.....131
Outside the Gaeltacht.....31
(ii) Schools in which some classes are taught completely through Irish.....15
(iii) Schools in which at least one class group are taught some of the subjects (activities) through Irish - at least one subject apart from Irish.....1,161
(iv) Other Schools.....1,942

The organisation Gaelscoileanna informs me that the number of schools in the all-Irish (i) category is currently 42, including one in Belfast. An Irish language stream such as falls into category (ii) exists in Derry. A request to the Department for the location of the 15 schools of category (ii) yielded a list of 23 such schools for 1982-83, distributed as follows:

Dublin city	3
Rest of Leinster	6
Munster	10
(Cork 3, Kerry 4, of which 3 are in Tralee, which also has an all-Irish school)	
Connacht	2
Ulster (3 counties)	2

However, for the purpose of this paper we may turn our attention to category (iii), that is those schools reported as using Irish as a second medium of instruction as proposed in the Teacher's Handbook.

My first source of information on the use of Irish in the various subject areas is Ó Domhnalláin and Ó Gliasáin (1976) whose respondents were teaching standards V or/and VI. One should bear in mind that 6.1% of the schools in question had Gaeltacht, Breac-Gaeltacht or all-Irish backgrounds. Only in the case of Music can it be said that the official recommendations have found a generally positive response, although substantial minorities report some use of Irish in the teaching of Physical Education and Art/Crafts (ibid., Table 16).

Table 16

Language used in the teaching of various subjects to standards V or/and VI

Subject	Percentage of schools teaching that subject					Total respondents
	Entirely through Irish	More Irish than English	Both languages equally	Less Irish than English	Entirely through English	
Religion	2.0%	0.2%	0.2%	2.0%	95.5%	443
Mathematics	2.9%	0.5%	1.4%	3.6%	91.7%	444
Art/Crafts	3.1%	0.9%	6.4%	14.1%	75.5%	425
Environmental studies	2.8%	0.7%	4.0%	11.4%	81.2%	437
History	2.7%	0.7%	1.8%	6.1%	88.7%	442
Civics	2.6%	0.5%	3.6%	5.4%	87.9%	389
Geography	2.9%	0.9%	2.5%	12.9%	80.8%	442
Music	4.6%	4.4%	26.5%	32.0%	32.5%	434
Physical Ed.	3.9%	0.3%	8.9%	24.7%	62.2%	384

Table 17

Time per week devoted to teaching subjects other than Irish through Irish

Time given per week to teaching subjects other than Irish through Irish	Number	Percentage
No subject (except Irish) is taught through Irish	159	36.3%
Less than 2 hours per week	225	51.4%
Between 2 and 4 hours per week	30	6.9%
Between 4 and 6 hours per week	3	0.7%
Between 6 and 8 hours per week	5	1.1%
Between 8 and 10 hours per week	0	0.0%
Between 10 and 12 hours per week	3	0.7%
Every subject (except English) is taught through Irish	13	3.0%
Total respondents →	438	100%

Table 17 of the same Report dispels any illusion remaining about the realisation of the commitment to Irish as a second medium of instruction in the standards in the study. Only in 6.9% of general schools does the time given to Irish-medium instruction exceed 2 hours per week, and in these it does not exceed 4 hours - out of approximately a 25 hour week. The other corner-stone of the Department's envisaged back-up for the audio-visual Conversation Course, namely the use of Irish as a medium of communication outside the formal teaching situations is 'Seldom/never' adhered to in 45.3% of cases, with 39.3% reporting 'half and half' adherence and a not insignificant minority of 15.4% reporting its rate of compliance as 'Always/ frequently' (ibid., Table 21).

Table 21

Use of Irish as a medium of communication between teachers and pupils outside formal teaching situations by childhood home language of informants

Frequency of use for communication / Childhood home language	English only	More English than Irish	Both languages equally	More Irish than English	Irish only	All informants
Always/frequently	11.9%	18.4%	14.3%	30.8%	26.5%	19.4%
"Half and half"	37.4%	44.7%	57.1%	34.6%	35.3%	39.3%
Seldom/never	50.7%	36.8%	28.6%	34.6%	38.2%	41.3%
Total respondents →	286	= 76	= 21	= 26	= 34	= 443

The second source of information on the extent of the use of Irish as a medium of instruction has just recently become available, Ó Dubhghaill (1984). It relates to Fourth standard in the Limerick region. Its results are parallel to those of Ó Domhnalláin and Ó Gliasáin (1976) but show lower percentages of teacher use of Irish as a teaching medium for most subject areas.

3.1. James F. Lindsey (1975) undertook a survey of teacher perceptions of Irish language teaching in structured interviews with a sample of 125 primary teachers. He reported majority attitudinal support for optional Irish-medium streams in large English-speaking schools and a substantial minority approving the teaching of subjects through Irish, although the ranking of subjects considered appropriate for this contrasts somewhat oddly with the actual position outlined already. We may quote Lindsey (1975, p. 102).

> A suggested alternative to all-Irish schools has been the provision of Irish-medium streams in large English-speaking schools. A plurality of 49% supported while 46% opposed the proposal. Opposition to streaming on principle was voiced by some teachers, while others felt it was organizationally impractical. Many of those favouring the Irish-medium stream concept emphasized that their approval was based on the provision of a genuine option.
>
> Another proposal often heard is that one or more subjects be taught through Irish. Sixty-five percent rejected this idea while 34% approved it. Those in favour were asked which subject(s) they would recommend. Most frequently mentioned were Irish, History and Geography (62%), music and art (24%) and physical education (14%).

With regard to the somewhat vexed question of the competence in Irish of College of Education graduates, it may be noted that in most instances the B.Ed. degree has a component deeming successful students to have acquired the same standard of Irish as obtained on the two-year diploma course which was

replaced after 1974. This latter standard was deemed to test one's competence in teaching through Irish. It can scarcely be doubted that a large minority of today's graduates would not feel at home in such a situation, for unlike their diploma predecessors they themselves receive virtually no instruction outside Irish itself (language and methodology) through Irish. At best they are preached to by the Irish departments on the value of integrating the language with other subjects and activities but receive little encouragement and almost no direction elsewhere.

3.2. Table 15 of Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984, p. 25) records how much Irish respondents considered suitable in the educational programmes of most children today:

TABLE 15 : SCHOOL PROGRAMME PREFERRED FOR MOST CHILDREN

Amount of Irish in Programme	Primary %	Post-Primary %
1. All English (with no Irish taught)	3	4
2. Irish taught as a subject only	72	72
3. All-Irish (with English as a subject only)	4	4
4. Bilingual with (i) more subjects through English than through Irish	4	4
(ii) about 50/50	16	15
(iii) more subjects through Irish than through English	1	1
	100	100

As the authors note, the 25% minority who would like some use of Irish as a medium of instruction is substantially larger than the proportion of children currently receiving such education (ibid., p. 26), for they also state (ibid., p. 21): 'Such information as we have to hand suggests that the under-30 group have received very little bilingual education (i.e. 6% in primary school; 4% in post-primary school).' The attitude to Irish-medium education expressed in response to a question on all-Irish schooling was even more favourable: 24% said they would send (or would have sent) their children to an all-Irish school if one were available in their locality (ibid., p. 26). This of course contrasts with the 5% of their Table 15 above who expressed such a preference.

3.3. It might be useful at this point to try to bring the different strands together before proceeding to have a quick glace at bilingual education abroad and making some suggestions that might aid its extension here in Ireland. The Department of Education officially exhorts schools to employ Irish in general conversation as the language of the school and to extend its use as a medium of instruction as the pupils' mastery of it improves. But the Department would appear to set more store by the informal incidental general use of Irish than by its more formal use in instruction - perhaps a consequence of doubts raised by Macnamara (1966) and not yet dispelled in officialdom by later studies such as Cummins (1977). Although a majority of

teachers report substantial use of Irish as a general means of communication in school, instructional use of Irish is confined to a significant minority, who however use it for the most part for less than 2 hours per week. This rather low level of functional use of Irish in the primary school system obtains despite the existence of substantial minorities of both parents and teachers who state that they would be in favour of bilingual programmes. The weakness of the present position of Irish as a medium of instruction outside the 'all- Irish' schools may well stem from the random distribution of these minorities of parents and teachers throughout the country and the lack of appropriately cohesive central planning and administration. There is a tendency for native scholars to exaggerate the 'uniqueness' of the Irish linguistic condition (see for example Harris, 1982, pp. 19-20), but while it is undoubtedly a truism that no two national language situations are precisely similar, one suspects that any 'unique' quality in the Irish language situation is to be sought rather in the half-hearted nature of policy resolution than in the general features of the situation itself. Consideration of the bilingual education experience of other countries need not therefore be irrelevant. On the other had, any attempt to transplant programmes which have proved successful elsewhere without due regard to the position of Irish here would be unwise. Fishman (1976, pp. 52, 73) demonstrates that Ireland's promotion of a second medium of instruction is paralleled throughout the world. He estimates that there may have been as many as 2,500 bilingual secondary schools programmes in operation in 110 countries in 1972-73, and possibly 20 times as many such programmes in operation at primary level - perhaps 50,000 programmes - we are not alone. And there is no difficulty in identifying our allegedly 'unique' situation with the first of his two categories of programme types (ibid., p. 76):

> For some educational systems ..... bilingual education is an alternative option equivalent to vernacularization or self-recognition, an educational trend which began with the modern period of history and which has not yet run its course.
>
> For other educational systems, bilingual education is an alternative option equivalent to internationalization or other-recognition, an educational trend which began in the earliest forms of elitist education.

The simple theoretical distinction drawn between 'marked' and 'unmarked languages' in the same work (pp. 99-100) also helps us to understand the role of Irish:

> That language is marked in a bilingual education setting which would most likely not be used instructionally were it not for bilingual education, i.e. to say, it is precisely bilingual education that ths brought it into the classroom. Conversely, that language is unmarked in a bilingual education setting which would most likely (continue to) be used instructionally, even in the absence of bilingual education.

Cohen (1975) reviews the international literature on the outcome of bilingual education programmes and shows (p. 22) that the results are mixed: programmes in Canada and South Africa have been deemed successful while others in Ireland (Macnamara, 1966), Mexico and the Philippines have been deemed unsuccessful. We may follow Cohen (ibid., p. 2) in quoting from an earlier study"

> Fishman and Lovas (1970) state that most existing bilingual programs have not utilized recent insights into societal bilingualism in their program designs. Staff personnel offer educational, psychological, or linguistic reasons for project characteristics, but ignore the language situation existing in the community involved.

Therefore the success or otherwise of bilingual education programmes cannot be divorced from the interaction of the two languages in the society in question, nor from that society's attitude toward them. Even the small number of practical models outlined by Cohen (ibid., p. 18) brings into sharp relief the contrasting haziness of the model officially expounded in Ireland: (i) a lesson in one language in the morning followed by the same lesson in the second language in the afternoon, (ii) a different medium of instruction on alternate days, (iii) use of simultaneous translation, (iv) functional specialization - certain subjects being taught in each language, and (v) one language predominating at first, with shift to the other language.

Cohen (ibid., p. 19) summarises Mackey (1972) on the approaches adopted by teachers in the J.F.K. School (secondary) in Berlin, which drew 50% of its pupils from German families, 40% from American families and the other 10% from 'the international community'. Continual alternating is prevalent at the Berlin school, with teachers alternating considerably between languages within the same lesson. Teachers there adopted at least five approaches: (i) they gave part of a lesson in one language, another part in the other language, (ii) they presented all material in one language with repetition of the same material in the other language, (iii) they presented all material in one language and gave a summary in the other language, (iv) they employed continual alternation of one language and the other, (v) they spoke to some persons in one language, to others in the other language. Fishman (1976, pp. 94-107) and Mackey (1972, pp. 149-171) offer complex typologies of bilingual educational models but I suspect that the example of this single German school shoud be enough to prompt us to analyse and describe our own bilingual programmes.

It would seem too that foreign experience can offer reassurance as well. Given that the principal sociocultural conditions that define Immersion can be summarized as: '(1) Immersion programs are intended for children who speak the majority-group language, which in the case of North America is English.... (2)

Educational, teaching, and administrative personnel working in Immersion programs value and support, directly or indirectly, the children's home language and culture. (3) The participating children and their parents similarly value their home language and culture and do not wish to forsake either. (4) Acquisition of the second language is regarded by the children and their parents as a positive addition to the children's repertoire of skills' (Genesse, 1983, p. 4), Genessee (ibid., p. 40) concludes that the benefit of such Immersion programmes is not confined to advantaged pupils:

> Majority-language students with characteristics that customarily limit their achievement in conventional school programs with English instruction have been shown to attain the same levels of achievement in basic academic subjects in Immersion programs as do comparable students in regular native-language school programs. At the same time, these types of "disadvantaged" students achieve much higher levels of second-language proficiency than they would were they receiving core second-language instruction.

Another conclusion of Genessee is relevant to the Irish context, namely the question of the importance of the geographical setting of the school:

> .....since their inception Immersion programs have been instituted outside Quebec and are now available in communities where there is no large local population of target-language speakers, such as French Immersion in Vancouver or Toronto.....the existing research findings indicate that students in communities or settings that do not have large numbers of target-language speakers and/or that do not officially recognize the target language can benefit from participation in an Immersion program, perhaps even to the same extent as Immersion students living in bilingual communities. (ibid., pp. 32-3).

5.0 An awareness of bilingual education programmes in other countries and of the state of international research on such programmes would widen the range of experience available to project planners and practitioners here in Ireland. But they should complement studies of our own experience - not act as substitutes for our own investigation and reflection. Any ill-considered attempt to graft what appears to have been successful elsewhere onto an inadequately researched home situation would be folly. We must note what we have, gauge its strengths and weaknesses, and on the basis of this study devise and implement coherent projects which are reviewed regularly.

Thus, for example, any reconsideration of the role of Irish as a second medium of instruction in the primary school should begin with those schools which are already making some effort in this direction. It would seek to harness the active co-operation of those substantial minorities of parents and teachers who favour dual-medium instruction. In fact it is interesting to see that the practice in one of the very few schools which explicitly organizes itself bilingually is clearly an intensification of the bilingual approach operating weakly in over a thousand other schools. In Scoil Náisiúnta Réalt na Mara,

Skerries, for instance, the staff speak Irish among themselves, use Irish as far as possible as the language for ordering school affairs and this use of Irish in informal situations finds a logical extension into Physical Education and Art, which also provide a setting for the reinforcement of subject matter introduced via the Conversation Courses in the language. The school is the smallest unit likely to be in a position to pursue a coherent bilingual programme over a number of years. To operate such a programme successfully the school would need the active participation and co-operation of suitably qualified and motivated teachers and principal and at least the passive co-operation and support of parents. It is hard to envisage long-term success for the more usual position obtaining in schools today, where the decision as to the choice and proportion of instructional medium rests with the individual teacher, a consequence of circular 11/60 (cf. An Roinn Oideachais, 1965, p. 119). For such an individualised and fragmented approach to bear fruit one imagines that there would need to be some general guidance given to teachers wishing to use Irish as a second medium of instruction. They could be advised to teach certain subjects/activities through Irish - Music, Physical Education and Art, for instance, or they could be advised to use English in the morning and to use Irish both as a teaching medium and for general purposes after lunch, or to use Irish between 11.00 a.m. and 12.00 noon, or whatever. But some such guidelines should be provided to end the isolation of the teacher using Irish as a medium, to facilitate continuity within the school and to promote cohesion in the primary system. The individual teacher could be further assisted by pre-service and in-service courses designed for dual-medium instruction. Schools should get the active encouragement and assistance of Department of Education inspectors and administrators. A new classification of the various types of Irish-medium primary schools, incorporating the features of post-primary school classification might well help to concentrate the minds of all concerned with the well-being and efficiency of Irish-language teaching in the primary school. A supportive framework could also be set up, facilitating contact between the schools employing Irish actively as a medium of communication and providing a type of liaison service with community bodies both within and outside the Gaeltacht which use Irish.

I wish to preface my conclusion with a number of quotations. The first is in fact a quote of a quote; it is taken from Cohen (1975, p. 266) and stresses the need for attitudinal change:

> As Rodríguez (1969) so eloquently put it, "What is not spelled out in any .....recommendations, however, is the imperative need for drastic attitudinal change both within the dominant cultural group and within the

> Mexican American Community. And the attitudinal change must be the primary concern of the public school. Every person in the school dealing with a student must become culturally cognizant of the significance of recognizing the enriching values of cultural heritage. It must permeate their very being that the person with a bilingual, bicultural asset is 'Advantaged' and from that position can be a vital factor in the enrichment of the school, the community, all of society."

Mackey and Anderson (1977, p. 331) offer a general guiding principle:

> In any social system where there is a various widespread desire or need for a bilingual or multilingual citizenry, then priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages least likely to be otherwise developed or most likely to be neglected.

Fishman (1976, p. 43) stresses the interdependence of bilingual schooling and the overall sociolinguistic setting:

> Bilingual education in which the languages taught are related to real, live communities, on the one hand, and are utilized as media of instruction and real, live communication, on the other hand, is understandably a truly natural way to teach and learn languages effectively.

Of course in the case of Irish one has the added dimension of aligning the school experience to outside efforts to extend the role and use of the language. It was because this alignment was seen not to have been achieved that the sixties witnessed a retreat from extended programmes for Irish in the schools to core programmes. It was evidently hoped that the audio-visual methodology subsequently introduced would allow the same standard of Irish to be attained in approximately half the time. Harris (1984) indicates clearly enough that this does not seem to have happened (direct comparisons are of course not possible). The choice facing us now is therefore either to reduce our expectations of what core teaching of Irish can achieve or to revert to extended programmes of Irish. It has been the contention of this paper that the establishment of a range of bilingual programmes on an optional basis is feasible in the context of our present language situation, and can count on the support of substantial minorities of parents and teachers. The challenge is therefore twofold - there is need for a policy initiative and there is need for co-ordination of effort. The establishment by the Department of Education of a comprehensive administrative framework which was flexibly operated might well act as a catalyst to promote dual-medium education and thereby take a significant step in reversing the decline of the language in the primary school.

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Discourse analysis and language acquisition

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The study of child language acquisition has moved through several phases during the past few decades. In the 1960s the main interest was in the acquisition of syntactic structures, while in the 1970s semantic and cognitive approaches predominanted. More recently, greater attention has been paid to advances in discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics (broadly speaking, the study of the use language in context), and this focus has been reflected in child language studies. Two separate strands can be discerned in this more functional and interactive approach:

(i) the explanation of language acquisition with reference to interactional contexts (input studies);
(ii) the acquisition of separate skills involving the use of language.

It is with the second of these themes that the present paper is concerned.

Some aspects of discourse analysis

It might be helpful to briefly review some of the main issues which have been discussed during the past few years in the area of discourse analysis. These include the following:

1. The form v function relationship

Briefly, this involves a distinction between the linguistic form of an utterance and the function it might serve in a particular discourse context. So, for example, a sentence such as "it's cold in here" has declarative form and an obvious literal meaning, yet it could function on a given occasion of utterance as a request to close the door. This non-literal meaning cannot be derived from an inspection of the sentence alone.

2 The role of context in utterance interpretation

One of the aims of discourse theory is to specify the contextual features which have a bearing on how an utterance is interpreted. In the example quoted above, reference might be made to knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer, for example, that the door is open, that open doors cause draughts, that draughts cause rooms to be cold, that cold rooms are undesirable.....Such knowledge would be necessary for the hearer to arrive at a suitable interpretation of the utterance.

3 Appropriacy as opposed to grammaticality

Traditionally linguistics deals with the description of rules for well-formed sequences. However, there are also rules for the appropriate use of language. The clearest cases involve rules of politeness. So, for example, it would be considered inappropriate to use a direct requesting form such as "close the door" to another adult (though probably not to a child).

4. Discourse structure

This involves the structural relationships between utterances. The clearest example would be question-answer sequences, although there are many more complex structures in everyday conversation.

5. Discourse content

In discourse analysis one important topic has been the way in which information is handled within a text. For example, once an object or person has been mentioned, it can be treated as old information and referred to with pronouns or definite expressions. A further aspect of content concerns the notion of relevance, for example, in determining the extent to which a particular utterance is relevant or not to the preceding discourse.

6. Interactional aspects of discourse

It has become clear that, as far as conversation is concerned, an approach which focuses on the analysis of utterances in isolation is unsatisfactory. Basic aspects of conversation, such as turn-

taking, are accomplished in a collaborative manner and cannot be treated as the outcome of any one individual's contribution. It has also been argued that other aspects of discourse, such as the negotiation of meaning, are achieved interactively.

7. Features of spoken discourse

Finally, it should be mentioned that most work in discourse analysis has paid attention to the finer aspects of speech production, including in transcriptions items such as false starts, hesitations and other dysfluencies which are normally disregarded in the more idealized citation forms discussed in traditional linguistics. This is not just because of an insistence on accuracy; indeed, it has been demonstrated that these features of spoken discourse exemplify many of the complex processes involved in the collaborative production of a conversation.

It should be emphasised that this is a necessarily brief account which has disregarded many important theoretical distinctions in the literature. The term "discourse analysis" is being used here generically. It is also used to refer to a particular analytic approach developed at the University of Birmingham to describe teacher-pupil interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). A different approach, which developed out of ethnomethodology, is referred to as "conversation analysis" (see, for example, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Other terms include "text linguistics", which refers mainly to a European tradition of text analysis, and more generally, other terms used include interaction analysis, face-to-face interaction, and interpersonal communication. For further details, the interested reader is referred to texts such as Brown and Yule (1983), Levinson (1983) and Stubbs (1983).

Developmental discourse

Most of the above aspects of discourse have also been studied developmentally. In particular, there have been studies of the development in children of turn-taking, requesting, narrating, referring, as well as the use of devices for initiating and

sustaining coherent dialogue. Reviews of this work and accounts of further empirical research can be found in Garvey (1984) and McTear (1985). The present paper will examine a further aspect of discourse - the use and development of conversational repair. Put simply, repair refers to the devices used to sustain conversation in the face of actual or potential communicative breakdown. This can include simple cases of non-hearings and misunderstandings, checks for confirmation and elaboration as well as self-corrections. Repairs can be initiated by either the current speaker whose utterance occasioned the repair, or by the other participant. Similarly, once repairs have been initiated, they can be carried out by either the current speaker or the other participant. By using the term "self" for the speaker of the repairable utterance and "other" for the listener, we can isolate four types of repair in conversation:

1. self-initiated self-repair
2. other-initiated self-repair
3. Self-initiated other-repair
4. other-initiated other-repair

In this paper only the first two types will be examined. For a detailed account of conversational repair, see Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977). The first type, abbreviated for convenience to "self-repair", refers to cases where the speaker self-corrects without any prompting from the other conversational partner. The second type, usually referred to as "clarification request", occurs when the listener requests some clarification which is then proferred by the speaker of the utterance which occasioned the request. These will be discussed first.

Clarification requests

Clarification requests can be classified across two dimensions. Firstly, they can be classified in terms of whether or not they address a specific part of the repairable utterance. In this sense, requests can be non-specific. The second dimension refers to the type of response expected - repetition, confirmation or specification.

The following examples (based on work by Garvey, 1977 might help):

1. Non-specific request for repetition

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: What?
A: Do you like his big brother?

2. Specific request for repetition

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: His what?
A: His big brother

3. Specific request for confirmation

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: His big brother?
A: Yes

4. Specific request for specification

A: Do you like his big brother?
B: Which one?
A: The one with the curly hair

Types 1 and 2 differ in that, although they both request repetition, type 2 requests repetition only of a specific part of the utterance. This difference may be carried by intonation alone, with a rising tone on "what" indicating type 1 and a falling tone indicating type 2. While the response to type 1 requires only simple repetition, type 2 requests require their recipient to isolate the appropriate item (in the above example, the object noun phrase). In this way type 4 is also more complex. It occurs in the environment of insufficient information, when for example, the speaker has made false assumptions about what the listener knows. This is often described as communicative egocentrism in the case of young children. In this request type the listener has to specify which aspect of the utterance is unsatisfactory, while the speaker has to supply the appropriate requested specification. The ability to make and respond to specific requests for specification requires a considerable degree of interactional and linguistic competence.

As far as the acquisition of clarification requests is concerned, Garvey (1977), in a study of 48 children aged 2;10 to 5;7 in dyadic peer interaction, found that chldren were able to respond appropriately

to requests for clarification, with the older children making fewer null responses (i.e. failure to respond at all). Non-specific requests were the most frequent, but all types were represented in the data for both younger and older age groups, suggesting that even young preschool children acquire early the ability to request and give clarification in everyday conversation. This conflicts somewhat with results of experimental studies which suggest that young children are unable to take account of listener indications of misunderstanding (for example, Peterson, Danner and Flavell, 1972), although this could be explained partially in terms of the higher cognitive demands placed on children in many experimental communication tasks.

A detailed analysis of children's clarification requests can yield useful information about their linguistic abilities. A comparison of utterance 1 in the sequence (the repairable) and utterance 3 (the clarification) can show the child's ability to segment surface strings and produce semantically, functionally or formally equivalent phrases. Children rarely give an exact repetition following a "what" request. Phonologically there can be a reduction in tempo, more careful articulation, widening of pitch range, and the use of contrastive stress. As far as the grammatical form of the utterance is concerned, often only essential content is repeated or the utterance may be expanded by adding further relevant material. For example, in the following sequence, the connective "sure", which occurs in Ulster English before a justification in the domain of a prior reversed polarity utterance (i.e. "yes" in contrast to "I didn't"), is omitted in the repeated utterance:

(1) Heather: I didn't
Siobhan: Yes
Heather: I didn't
sure I've got it on me there
Siobhan: What?
Heather: I've got it on me there

Other connectives and items such as "I think" were similarly omitted in such cases, indicating that the children were paying specific attention to the selection of the particular elements in the utterance

which required repetition and were able to distinguish these from other items which served a discourse function only in respect of the specific position in the sequence in which they occurred. The interaction with linguistic ability is also to be seen in responses to requests for specification, as in this example:

(2) Siobhan: I see shells on that lorry
Heather: What lorry?
Siobhan: That one that's blue

Here Siobhan has to specify which lorry she is referring to. This involves in this case the use of a restrictive relative clause as well as the substitution of the pronoun from "one" for the noun "lorry". It is possible that exposure to such sequences forces the child to become aware of the need to make utterances specific to the requirements of particular listeners. It may also be the case that grammatical structures such as relative clauses emerge as the child becomes aware of their communicative functions. However, much more empirical research is required before this hypothesis can be substantiated.

Leading on from this, it is possible to point to the possible educative function of clarification requests, in that they force children to test their current hypotheses about the form and use of their language, for example, by trying alternative forms instead of repeating. In the following example, the child corrects the grammatical form of her utterance following a clarification request:

(3) C: Oh, she ate me
somebody else wants to be ates
A: What?
C: Eaten

In some cases, the "correction" can result in an ungrammatical utterance:

(4) C: I'm gonna let one dry out
A: Huh?
C: I'm gonna let one....
I'm gonna let one dries out
A: Oh

Children's developing linguistic systems are generally unstable with the result that their production of well-formed utterances is variable. It would be interesting to investigate the potential educative role of such self-corrections of grammatical forms in the domain of clarification requests.

Self-repair

Self-repairs have received little attention in the developmental literature, possibly because they are unconsciously edited out at the transcription stage and simply not noticed. Indeed, it requires repeated listening with particular attention to repair phenomena such as cut-offs and hesitations in order to avoid this editing out. It is also possible that the significance of repair phenomena is not appreciated and that they are dismissed as purely "performance features". Certainly, self-repairs can be occasioned by a variety of factors, including speech planning and production processes, emotional state, memory lapses and other degeneracies of performance. These have been studied particularly by psychologists. However, self-repairs can also reveal aspects of a speaker's linguistic and interactional competence, as will be seen in the following analysis of grammatical self-repairs

The following are some examples of self-repairs to grammar taken from a study of pre-school children (McTear, 1985):

(5) Siobhan: Do you want more some books now. Some more books

(6) Heather: Well I hurt me
I hurt myself

(7) Siobhan: and there's a the the biggest garden

In (5) Siobhan has problems with the ordering of premodifying items in noun phrases and first produces the ordering of quantifier "more" followed by determiner "some" before correcting to "some more". In (6) Heather corrects the pronoun "me", replacing it with the reflexive "myself" which is required in the syntactic environment

of "I hurt X/X= I". Finally, example (7) is a case of syntactic relations, where the choice of a superlative form "biggest" requires the prior use of the definite article. Siobhan begins the noun phrase with the indefinite article "a", which is usually required after "there", but replaces with "the" in anticipation of the superlative form. The repetition of "the" is a further indication of 'trouble' at this precise point.

As well as straightforward self-corrections, children may often produce a different grammatical structure as in the following example:

(8) Siobhan: and this is just the table that you. like that table over there

In this case there is a change from a projected relative clause "the table that you...." to a comparative construction. This may have been simply because Siobhan changed her mind about what she was about to say. However, a further possibility is that she encountered difficulties with the projected relative clause and changed to a more manageable structure. This is also a common phenomenon in adult speech, where speakers cut off a problematic structure and replace it (Ochs, 1979). In some cases a lexical problem may by resolved by using a different grammatical structure:

(9) Heather: so your na- so your name hasn't got, um
so your
so. so you aren't a girl. you're a boy

Here Heather is having trouble finding a suitable object noun phrase to express the idea that the addressee is male. Instead of supplying this missing lexical item, she restructures the idea with different syntax.

Self-repairs also indicate the child's awareness of constituent structure. Many of the children's repairs involved a cut-off in mid-sentence after the subject-auxiliary or verb, resulting in a recycling or restructuring which involved a full clause structure:

(10) Heather: I was going to r-
I was going to run down to your house

In cases where the trouble occurred in a subordinate clause, then usually only the subordinate clause was recycled:

(11) Siobhan: you can't do it in the care because my house isn't very em
my house isn't very far

Where the trouble occurred towards the end of the sentence in the prepositional phrase, then only this part was recycled:

(12) H: where's the old witch in this...on this book

In sum, it would seem from evidence such as this that young children's self-repairs demonstrate their awareness of constituent structure in grammar.

Concluding remarks

This brief illustration of some recent work in developmental discourse has shown the interactional and linguistic skills possessed by young preschool children. Most of the emphasis has been on describing the discourse skills of conversational repair, although the relationship between these skills and the children's linguistic abilities has also been outlined. Future research will need to address further the interesting relationship between linguistic and interactional competence. Functional explanations of language development suggest that grammar emerges because of communicative requirements. A detailed examination of children's linguistic and interactional development could shed light on this important theoretical issue.

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PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF LESSER USED LANGUAGES

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This paper reports briefly on a Survey carried out during 1983-4 at the request of the Commission of the European Communities. The Dossiers on which the Final Report/Synthesis is based were established as a specific activity of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages which was subvented by the Commission, on behalf of minority languages and cultures within the Community. (For a fuller account of the Bureau see O Riagáin[1] or Ó Murchú[2]).

METHODOLOGY

The directions given in relation to this specific activity referred to

> "the establishment of dossiers regarding the trends, provisions and problems in the field of pre-primary education including the participation of parents, which could serve as the basis for a future Conference at European level."

In accordance with these directives, Guidelines were prepared and amended in discussion with the Commission. These Guidelines covered 5 areas - history/motivation behind current forms of pre-primary provision, essential statistics, linguistic and educational aspects of provision, future development - which the recipient was asked to treat in discursive form in his reply. These Guidelines (in four languages) were then sent to individuals and organisations in 6 of the 10 member states, inviting them to participate. (Accounts of statutory provision in countries of the Community were fairly readily available). This preliminary list was determined on the basis of the participants being known to be actively involved in promoting pre-primary provision in a lesser used language, either to the compiler of the Synthesis or to constituent members of the European Bureau. It was not an exhaustive list, nor did it contain some groups who, while not currently having any form of pre-primary provision in a minority language, would wish to be involved in a planning exercise towards future provision and therefore to have their views recorded in a Synthesis of this kind. Within the constraints of time and funding it was hoped to present a reasonably representative account of current "trends, provisions and problems" as directed, to include any suitable

materials provided from other sources, and to try to ensure that the information gathered would be later disseminated as widely as possible, and in that process refined, updated, and perhaps provide the basis for pointers towards possible policy. The Table below shows by underlining the eventual numbers of participants from a possible total drawn from Stephens.[3]

TABLE 1.

EEC MINORITY LANGUAGES PROJECT

1. IRELAND (1)
   Irish
2. UNITED KINGDOM (4)
   Irish, Welsh, Gàidhlig, Cornish
3. FRANCE (7 + 1)
   N. Basque, N. Catalan, Breton, Occitan (@ 2), Flemish, Corsican
   Alsace Lorraine
4. ITALY (5)
   Slovene, Sudtirol, Ladin, Friulan, Val d'Aosta
   Sards, Piedmontese, Occitans, Romagnols, Greeks, Croats, Albanians
5. NETHERLANDS (1)
   Frisian
6. LUXEMBOURG (1)
   Letzeburgisch
7. DENMARK (1)
   German (N. Schleswig)
   Greenlanders, Faroese
8. GERMANY
   Danish (S. Schleswig), N. @ E. Frisian, Platt-Deutsch
9. BELGIUM
   Flemish, Walloons, Germans (E. Cantons)
10. GREECE
    Turks, Albanians, Romanians

Of 22 invited to participate initially or at a later stage, there were 15 positive responses (not in all cases through the actual contact made), with the addition of 6 participants who provided information of their own accord as they became aware of the Survey through members of the Bureau. This ensured a total of 21 out of 27, with two reports from one region (voluntary agency and mainstream system) counted here as 1. Given the difficulties associated with voluntary agencies often without a fixed address, whose honorary officers may change annually, the size of the survey area involved and inevitable delays with the necessity for translation, this response was considered satisfactory. Of those responding, there was no pre-primary provision in only one region. Of the 10 member states, contact was either made with or received from 9, Greece being the exception.

In the Guidelines sent to participants, suggestions were made as to how the data sought under the various areas in the Guidelines might be obtained, i.e. essential statistics from existing primary sources, or information based on sample questions in Guidelines by mean of oral interview or mail-questionnaire. Different methods of gathering the relevant information were used by the various contributors. In some instances an expert researcher was retained, in others the dossier was compiled by individuals within the organisations themselves. It can probably be assumed that, in some cases, a degree of sympathy at least, and possible of subjectivity, informed areas of given data. This in no way detracts from the whole exercise, which was basically one of gathering information not only on what various groups are doing in the field of minority language medium pre-primary provision, but on how they perceive themselves and their work and others' perceptions of them. Indeed, one of the more valuable off-shoots of establishing a dossier may well have been the opportunity it afforded groups to examine their own situation and attempt to explain it to others, and in so doing to deepen and broaden their own knowledge of it.

TERMINOLOGY

As is already apparent, there exist problems of terminology

(i) with regard to the areas of educational provision under survey and

(ii) with regard to the participant groups involved.

Point 3.0 of Guidelines uses the term pre-primary and, for purposes of this work, defines it as "pre-compulsory primary schooling". In the same spirit, "provision/services are defined as any efforts, whether statutory or voluntary, at education outside the home setting, through the medium of the lesser used language." For a fuller discussion of the possible connotations attendant on choice of terminology in this area of education, the reader is referred to the Introduction of Publication No.12 in the Education Series of the Commission of the European Communities.[4]

Rather more emotive are possible pejorative nuances of the term "minority" whether in reference to a community or a language. It may also be innacurate as a term, since a numerical minority within a particular state may well be

(i) a numerical majority in a region of that state, (a fact which assumes even greater importance if the region is an autonomous region);

(ii) speak a language which is the majority language of another state, as in some Italian border regions for example, or

(iii) as in the case of the Republic of Ireland and Luxembourg, the language may in fact be the first official language of the state or national language respectively.

Other considerations which had to be taken into account pertained

(i) to the perceived links between ethnic groups, language and cultural identity as well as

(ii) questions of nationality, citizenship and their being co-terminous with different language-speaking groups.

All this then influenced the choice of the qualifier "lesser used" in relation to the linguistic groups involved. It also led to the use of the terms "indigenous" to describe a linguistic group such as the Welsh in Britain and "extra-territorial" to describe a linguistic group such as the Slovenes of present-day Trieste.

The problems of immigrant groups were not considered to come within the current definition of the work of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.

RESEARCH IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Recognition of the possible advantages of early intervention as a compensatory mechanism in the education of socially or economically deprived groups together with a growing awareness of the crucial importance of the early formative years for all facets of the child's development has led in the past twenty years to research and report programmes all over the world. Many of these have focussed on language and the possible determining effects of language variety on life chances, and have, in some instances, for a time at least, influenced public policy.

Psycholinguistic studies have provided studies of child language acquisition, including specific examples of bilingual children. Studies are also available of bilingual educational systems.

In Europe, bodies such as the Council of Europe, UNESCO, the European Commission and the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the OECD have set research in train and published several significant "reports" for ex. in the areas of early childhood education for immigrant children. Very little, however, is available on such a scale in the field of pre-primary provision for linguistic groups of the type described above, although allusions to education for linguistic diversity can be found throughout the major reports on early childhood education. Goutard (1979)[4] and Woodhead (1981)[5], however, do tend to treat societal pluralism and bi-cultural education for the young in a context that includes

native, as well as immigrant, cultural minorities. The Summary Report[6] (1984), of the Van Leer Foundation Seminar in Granada, Spain, also mentions, in the discussion on bi-lingual and bi-cultural education in the classroom, the particular problems of the EEC's lesser used languages, the levelling effects of mass media, the importance of the minority language having a role in domains other than education, to support the work of the classroom, as well as the disadvantages of "minimal and disjointed provision" (p. 18). (These remarks are confined to reports from European bodies. The work of, for example, the UK Mother Tongue Project[7] is not included).

PROBLEMS OF SYNTHESIS

Provision of a clear Synthesis on comparative lines implies an ordering of material according to selected criteria. There were several choices that could have been made as to what constituted a suitable framework. Initially, when the Guidelines were prepared, with the purpose of making comparative work more manageable across a range of contributions, it was felt that the five main areas would prove useful starting points. The dossiers, however, provided such a wealth of information from differing situations that this approach proved ultimately less feasible. Description and analysis by country would not have done full justice either to the similarities between countries nor to the differences within them. While the whole question of language was central to the work, the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic (and indeed socioeconomic) implications of this approach could only be adequately dealt with within a broader framework. Since all the dossiers were concerned with the issue of pre-school provision as an important mechanism in the maintenance of minority languages and cultures and their transmission to the next generation with the attendant problems such a stance imposes, concerned with statutory support or the lack of it, and voluntary efforts to fill the void, it was eventually decided to order material in the Final Report basically on whether the educational provision in the different regions was (i) voluntary, (ii) statutory

or (iii) a combination of both, as Table below indicates.

TABLE II

PRE-PRIMARY PROVISION

1.	STATUTORY ONLY	
	Luxembourg	(1)
	Italy	(5)
2.	VOLUNTARY ONLY	
	Gàidhlig, UK	(1)
	Cornish, UK	(1)
3.	BOTH STATUTORY AND VOLUNTARY (not necessarily all cases)	
	Irish	(1)
	Frisian	(1)
	France	(6)
	Welsh, UK	(1)
	Irish, UK	(1)
4.	PRIVATE	
	German, North Schleswig, Denmark	(1)
5.	NONE	
	Flemish, France	(1)

The German minority in Denmark has private education which is state funded. It is the level of recognition and funding it receives that distinguishes it from the type of private educational provision described here as voluntary.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY

A paper of this length precludes the possiblity of providing a comprehensive overview of the 21 situations on which information was provided or of discussing fully the many inter-related variables involved. The following framework, however, drawn from Saint-Blancat's[8] discussion of minority group vitality, which she bases on Giles et al.[9] and Tajfel[10], may provide an introduction to the general

conclusions. Saint-Blancat suggests that the ability of a minority to survive derives not only from the objective conditions of the socio-structural context but also from social-psychological processes that have to do with ethnolinguistic identity and the minority's subjective perception of its own vitality. It is the interaction thus produced that determines the type and strength of the strategies used by the minority in its efforts at self-maintenance.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY
determined by
SOCIO-STRUCTURAL CONTEXT

1. STATUS variables	economic political linguistic	+ PRESTIGE
2. DEMOGRAPHIC factors	numbers birth rate geographical concentration mixed marriages in-migration out-migration	
3. Institutional SUPPORT factors	mass-media education government industry religion culture	+ RECOGNITION + REPRESENTATION

HIGH VITALITY = HIGH ABILITY TO SURVIVE AS COLLECTIVE, RESIST ASSIMILATION

BUT ALSO SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES - ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY

1. SOCIAL CATEGORISATION
2. SOCIAL IDENTITY
3. SOCIAL COMPARISON
4. PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTINCTIVENESS

NEED : POSITIVE DISTINCTIVENESS

ACTUAL LEVEL OF VITALITY + minority's PERCEPTION of that vitality affect

SALIENCE OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY (+, -) and therefore ABILITY FORGE SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

STRATEGIES TOWARDS MORE POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPT

1. INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY (assimilation, dominant group)
2. SOCIAL CREATIVITY (redefine/reverse/re-interpret negatively valued elements)
3. SOCIAL COMPETITION (direct conflict)

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Leaving aside in this paper discussion of the criteria by which a minority may be defined, it is certainly possible to describe as heterogenous those communities that are commonly included in the minorities of Europe. In numbers, for example, they range from under 1,000 with the Germans of Sauris in Northern Italy to the 2½ million Occitans in the southern half of France. Regions in the border areas may date annexation from as far back as 1659 (Northern Catalans and Basques), or 1860 as Val d'Aosta. In the case of the Slovenes of Trieste, it was not until 1975 that the present Italo-Yugoslav border was ratified. They may be citizens of one country but regard themselves as nationals of another, or of part of another (France, for example, is considered to contain a ⅛ of the Basque nation). They may have no share in government, or be an autonomous region created by special statute.

In spite of this heterogeneity, however, many of the linguistic groupings discussed above reveal certain common characteristics : they are communities on the margin both of their own states and of Europe. They are peripheral geographically, economically and culturally, currently in a state of transitional societal bilingualism. They have endured out-migration of their own members and in-migration of a kind that led to economic and linguistic imbalance. The traditional values of their cultures are being eroded in the face of a changing social environment with a rapidity that leaves little room for adaptation. The critical mass of community speakers necessary for their survival is decreasing at a rate that could soon reach the point of no return. The birth rate is falling. Intergenerational transmission of the language is not occurring as it should.

They have in common also, however, a realization of their own precarious state and a determination to take preventative stabilizing action. To take any action at all, however, requires power and resources, both either scarce or lacking. There exists a growing demand for the right to self-determination, to take responsibility for their own future.

> "Political autonomy, while not itself a solution, is clearly considered a pre-requisite for the maintenance and development of regional languages and cultures" (Riccardo Petrella, public lecture, Dublin 1981)11

Local needs are best met by locally determined solutions.

The school as an agency which transmits the language and values of the communtiy, which has the possibility of ensuring a viable community of speakers, is probably the most important domain in which to have communtiy control. Language is central to education, so education must be central to the language community's field of power. The very young are central to the future, so the linguistic education of the very young is of paramount importance.

Bilingualism is not the issue, but the type of bilingualism and the route towards it. Stable bilingualism is a real possibility, but it can only occur by positive discrimination that favours the status of the minority language, by its extension, or restoration, into as

many domains of use as possible, public and private. Monolingual vernacular education of the very young then has been found one solution by many minorities; others, by reason of existing statutes have settled for bilingual pre-primary education. There are difficulties with defining this monolingual education as mother tongue education:

(i) because of the mixed linguistic characteristics of communities and families;

(ii) because it is also widely taken up, particularly the voluntary variety, by majority speakers, for either ideological or educational reasons.

The monolingual variety appears to have effects wider than solely linguistic, on a population wider than the school population itself. It tends to influence attitudes

(i) in the minority language community itself, leading to a new perception of the importance of the native language and culture and so increased language loyalty. This in turn has meant some impact on linguistic behaviour in the family and a greater acceptance of policies leading to increased public status for the minority language.

(ii) In the wider community, leading in some instances to hostility/resentment, but in general to an awareness of others' linguistic rights, paving the way for possible statutory policy initiatives. Because the linguistic objectives of monolingual minority language education is clear, those involved in it tend to be convinced in their approach. Such education, even by those who cannot provide it (the Ladins for example), is generally considered the best solution to the present dilemma, leading to some degree of equality between the language for the individual, and hope for the future for the community.

Bilingual education, especially at the pre-primary level, suffers several drawbacks. Since the linguistic outcomes expected are difficult to state unequivocally, the advantage tends to lie with the majority language, which tends to dominate, even though - or indeed because - it is dominating anyway. It is difficult for the minority language to win this unequal battle, especially within

current sociolinguistic conditions. The effect on staff, for example, may tend to be one of ambivalence. The economic arguments in favour of majority language mastery are naturally highly regarded by both parents and teachers. This may lead to no more than transitional bilingualism for the individual and the community, reinforce existing transitionalism, or be merely assimilationalist.

The numbers of children involved in voluntary pre-primary minority language education are very much smaller than those in the statutory variety, in Europe. Paradoxically, however, the linguistic and attitudinal effects of the former may be of greater importance, both now and in the future.

If community viability depends on increasing the number of speakers and/or on planning and implementing a situation of stable diglossia, the role of the minority language in the domain of education would appear to have to be a dominant one, which may mean monolingual particularly at the pre-primary level. "Not to learn the language, but to learn through the language" was a recurring theme in the Dossiers.

Whatever the choice, monolinguality or bilinguality, the range of problems described tends to similar, having their base in the linguistically mixed classroom that confronts the teacher in both types of provision, although the urgency to find solutions will, of course, depend largely on commitment and aims. For some indigenous minority languages, there still exist areas of corpus planning that need completion, although most now have institutions established for this purpose. There is still, despite an increase in children's publishing a dearth of suitable (culturally, linguistically and pedagogically) learning materials. There is not sufficient research into the processes and products of differing systems to offer objective guidance on language approach (although those that exist are encouraging, c.f. Ireland and Wales). There is, above all, no suitable training for teachers to operate efficiently in such conditions, although by now there exists a large pool of collective wisdom. There remain some attitudinal problems (among staff and parents) that may more easily lend themselves to solution if the lacunae already enumerated were filled. (Doubts about

majority language monolingual education, even for non-majority speakers, are rarely expressed). There are also some problems of credibility due to the perceived sweep of demands in relation to the relatively small size of some communities.

These very difficulties are not, however, without their compensations. The freedom of not having easily accessible models has led to experimentation and innovation in education that might not have been otherwise possible.

Linguistico-educational considerations receive high prominence: the cultural identity of children; the benefits of early exposure to more than one language; bilingualism of necessity and bilingualism of choice, effects on minority and majority children: a complex of attitudes, beliefs, values relating to education for bilingual results, differently held by different groups, within both minority and majority communities.

In this situation, parents have new roles and new needs. Most have, and they want to have, a more powerful and decisive role in all aspects of their children's education. In some instances they work closely with school personnel towards the fulfilment of the educational objectives. (In some extra-territorial minority areas, the teachers seek this liaison towards the common goal). Majority language parents may be helpful and encouraged into the minority language community and education. This is particularly the case where, for differing reasons, they have chosen minority language medium education for their children. The fact that, in some areas at any rate, their numbers are still small, and that the percentage of the pre-school age cohort receiving this largely private education is not highly significant, is due more to lack of resources, especially financial, than to any lack of determination. The demand for such provision, whether private or statutory, is so constant across the minorities of Europe that it must be taken very seriously as a phenomenon that will not easily burn itself out. The accompany demands that voluntary minority-language medium education be integrated into the statutory system while leaving a degree of control to parents/ voluntary organisations/ community require imaginative solutions.

The question of language and languages is central to the question of Europe. Document PE 86 480 (04/11/1983), Projet de Rapport sur La diffusion des languages dans la Communauté (Rapporteur: Luc Beyer de Ryke), of the European Parliament and Commission states clearly the political choice made with regard to language(s) by the signatories to the creation of the European Community.

> "refus d'imposer une ou deux langues dominants mais également mise à l'écart du gaélique et de toutes langues régionales ou minoritaires".

It goes on to point out, as did the Arfe Report 1,2 that

> "la diversité culturelle de l'Europe ne peut être considérée comme une richesse que si elle est partagée."

Ironically, it would appear that it is the minorities of Europe that are the real Europeans, for it is they who, not always of their choice perhaps, share most in the cultural diversity of Europe. All they appear to be asking now is to be allowed to continue to do so.

> "The compatibility of regionalism and European integration is possible. It will depend on the will of Europeans". (Petrella, Dublin, 1981)[11]

The implications of current trends in minority language maintenance in Europe (and indeed elsewhere) appear to be socio-political, linguistic and educational, in that order.

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Bilingualism and the Genesis of Hiberno-English Syntax

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Introduction

It is commonly accepted by specialist and non-specialist alike that at least some of the distinctive qualities of the English language in Ireland arise from contact with Irish. The precise mechanism by which the contact between Irish and English has led to apparent restructurings of English grammar has not, however, been discussed in any detail, either with respect to the social environment of language contact or with regard to particular linguistic structures.

The following paper addresses two points in the social and linguistic history of Hiberno-English. The first point concerns the structure of population distribution and possible patterns of communicative activity, particularly in the formative years of the 17th century. I suggest that the towns of the 17th century, consisting of populations with large numbers of both English and Irish speakers, may have assumed a role in the spread of English in the 18th and 19th centuries that was greater than the numbers of people living in the towns would imply. The second point concerns some of the linguistic structures usually associated with Hiberno-English, notably the co-occurrence of do+be. Concentrating on English do, I suggest that 'standard' English periphrastic do may have had a greater effect than is commonly realised, due to the re-interpretation of do into two separate lexical entries.

In the absence of a comprehensive theoretical model in which to study Hiberno-English, the discussion in this paper is more suggestive than conclusive. The issues which it raises, however, are intended to provide a background

both for continued development of a theoretical model for Hiberno-English, and for further research into the history of it.

Population and language distribution

The legal, administrative, and anecdotal evidence by which the changing distribution of English and Irish can be established is well documented by Hogan (1927), Ó Cuív (1951), Henry (1957), Bliss (1977a,b; 1979), and others; it will not be repeated here. Several legal documents, though, stand out in suggesting the nature and significance of bilingual contact surrounding the towns in various periods. In the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), for example, it was forbidden for any 'Irish minstrels, that is to say, tympanours, pipers, story tellers, babblers, rhymers, harpers, or any other Irish minstrels' to 'come amongst the English,' or for any English people to 'recieve them or make gift to them.' (Berry 1907, p. 447.) Note as well the complaint of the Irish Parliament of 1431 that 'Irish enemies of our lord the King raise and hold amongst them different fairs and markets, and sundry merchants, English lieges, go and repair to the said fairs and markets,' sometimes with the help of 'their servants or people called "laxmen".' Since this practice was said to benefit the native Irish population, it was prohibited. (Berry 1910, p. 43.) Finally, consider the Dublin Municipal Council petition of 1657 which noted that

> whereas by the lawes all persons of this land ought to speake and use the English tongue and habitt, contrarie whereunto, and in open contempte whereof, there is Irish commonlie and usually spoken, and the Irish habitt worne not onlie in the streetes, and by suçh as live in the countrie and come to this cittie on market dayes, but also by and in severall families in this cittie

and called on the aldermen of the town to 'reade and consider of all lawes and ordinances which are most

materiall against the thinges complained of in the said peticion' (Gilbert 1894, pp. 118-119).

In all of the above cases, a significant degree of social and individual bilingualism may be inferred: Irish minstrels would hardly have been entertained by the English community had the possibility of mutual comprehension not existed, and the trade proscribed in 1431 must have required a stock of bilingual individuals for it to take place. I interpret the resolution of 1657 to suggest that it was expected that Irish would be brought into Dublin by commerce with the surrounding countryside, and that it was the public use of Irish by city residents which threatened the petitioners. What this resolution omits is the very real possibility that such incursions of Irish were equally incursions of English into the Irish-speaking community: rural traders must have come into contact with English, and it would not be surprising if Irish-speakers in Dublin also had at least some command of English.

Such bilingualism need not have been pervasive, nor would it need to require a large proportion of the population to be proficient in English and Irish, in order for bilingualism to have had an effect on the development of Hiberno-English. Diebold's (1961) study of Huave speakers in Oaxaca, Mexico, for example, found that traditional definitions of bilingualism only in terms of the 'ability of the speaker to "produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" ' obscured the 'question of minimal proficiency,' for which Diebold reserved the term '<u>incipient bilingualism</u>.' (Diebold 1961, p. 99. Quoting Einar Haugen.) By administering a lexicostatistical test to his Huave-speaking informants, Diebold (1961) noted that, whereas co-ordinate bilinguals were able to give Spanish equivalents for Huave words in 97% of cases, while subordinate bilinguals offered equivalents 89% of the time, even those classed as monolingual Huave-speakers gave

appropriate responses at a mean level of 37%, exhibiting a range from 11 to 68 per cent. (Diebold 1961, pp. 110-111.)

From this evidence, Diebold (1961, p. 111) argued that 'if incipient bilingualism is excluded from the investigation, we further conceal the initial learning stages; yet it is here that many of the interlingual identifications are set up which profoundly affect the shape of subsequent interference.' Following Diebold, then, I suggest that the minimal bilingualism which may have accompanied the English-speaking communities in the towns of 17th century Ireland, and which may have gone unnoticed in contemporary accounts, could have provided exactly the environment for the restructuring of English grammar that resulted in modern Hiberno-English.

To illustrate the distribution of language groups in the middle of the 17th century, consider the results of the Census of Ireland from 1659. This census is surrounded by some doubt as to its authors and origins, but it appears to have been executed by workers under Sir William Petty between 1655 and 1659 (Pender 1939, pp. i-ii). The Census divided the population into 'English,' 'Scots,' and 'Irish,' making a reference as well to the 'Old English' in Bargy, Co. Wexford. Though Pender (1939, p. xiii fn.) points out the possible ambiguity of these classifications, and notes Eoin MacNeill's suspicion of their validity or completeness, he ultimately concludes (p. xviii) that the classifications reflect language use rather than ethnic descent.

With the above limitations in mind, the census can be analysed to yield a rough picture of the linguistic groupings of the period. The pattern which consistently emerges is that of a rural countryside which is overwhelmingly, though not exclusively, 'Irish,' interspersed with towns consisting of an urban 'English' core surrounded by suburbs and liberties which are largely Irish. Some of the data from the Census are summarised in the following table,

adapted from Pender (1939 passim.). Regrettably, the relevant information is not available for such major towns as Galway and Drogheda.

TABLE I

Town	Urban Dwellers (%)	Suburban Dwellers (%)	Area Totals (%)
Cork[a] (N=4826)	38 - Irish 62 - English	72 - Irish 28 - English	67 - Irish 33 - English
Kinsale (N=2197)	57 - Irish 43 - English	72 - Irish 28 - English	62 - Irish 38 - English
Carlow (N=1517)	52 - Irish 48 - English	87 - Irish 13 - English	74 - Irish 26 - English
Limerick (N=3105)	47 - Irish 53 - English	94 - Irish 06 - English	74 - Irish 26 - English
Dublin (N=21,827)	26 - Irish 74 - English	75 - Irish 25 - English	55 - Irish 45 - English
Kilkenny (N=1722)	61 - Irish 39 - English	87 - Irish 13 - English	75 - Irish 25 - English
Dundalk (N=2536)	71 - Irish 29 - English	93 - Irish 07 - English	87 - Irish 13 - English
Wexford (N=902)	56 - Irish 44 - English	82 - Irish 18 - English	62 - Irish 38 - English
Athlone[b] (N=948)	60 - Irish 40 - English	86 - Irish 14 - English	44 - Irish 56 - English
Sligo (N=1398)	73 - Irish 27 - English	91 - Irish 09 - English	85 - Irish 15 - English

[a]Includes 7% soldiers; 7% Irish, 93% English

[b]Includes 38% soldiers; 17% Irish, 83% English

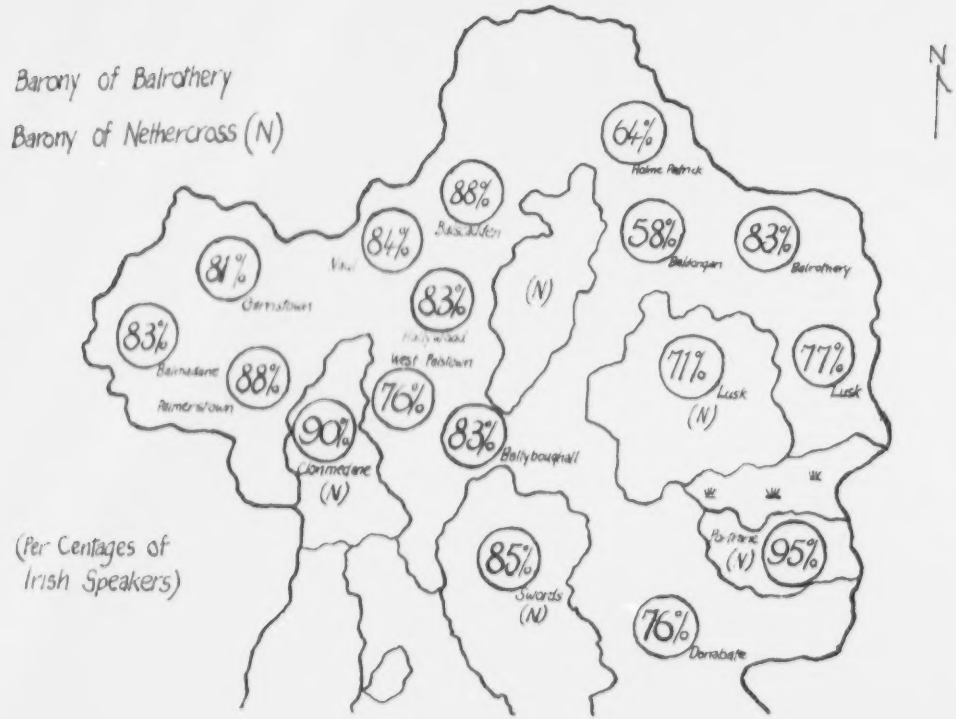
Table II sees the towns of Table I (omitting Athlone, for which the necessary data are lacking) in comparison with the population of the counties in which they are found. (From Pender 1939, passim.) Column I lists the per centage of the total county population found in the town and surrounding area, Column II lists the per centage of

the total county population represented by the English population of the area, and Column III shows the per centage of the English population of the county as a whole that is found in the particular area. Table II thus shows the extent to which the urban population is overshadowed by that living in rural areas, and to which the English population is concentrated in towns.

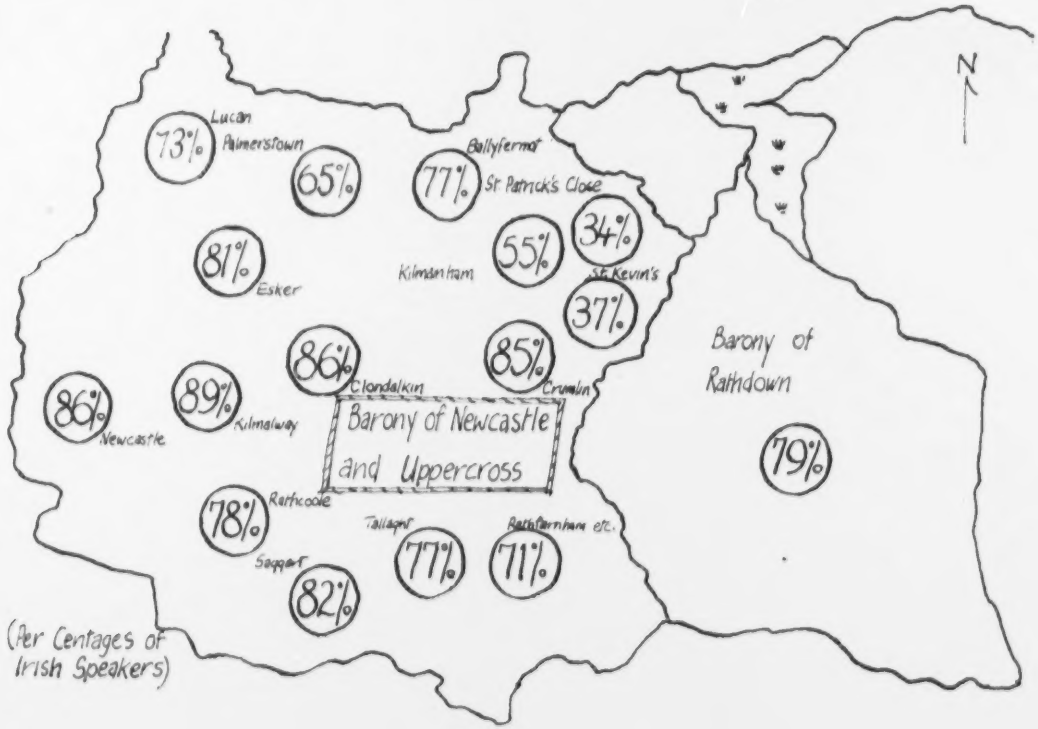
TABLE II

Town	I	II	III
Cork	12	04	25
Kinsale	05	02	13
Carlow	28	07	52
Limerick	12	03	41
Dublin	100	45	100
Kilkenny	09	02	30
Dundalk	26	03	18
Wexford	07	02	21
Sligo	20	03	39

The pattern of settlement suggested by the above Tables, in particular that of the urban inner core of English speakers surrounded by increasingly Irish districts, is seen in the following maps of County Dublin, based on Pender (1939) and the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 (Simington 1945). Though it has proved impossible to represent the different parishes found on these maps in clear proportion to each other, they can be interpreted with the census data in Pender (1939) and the land ownership information of Simington (1945) to suggest the population distribution much more clearly than is possible with the anecdotal evidence generally cited.[1] (Note that it has also been impossible to represent the discontinuous Barony of Uppercross on these maps; see Simington (1945) for details.)


Barony of Balrothery
Barony of Nethercross (N)
N
64%
Holme Patrick
88%
84%
Balscadden
58%
Balrothery
83%
Balrothery
81%
Carnistown
83%
(N)
83%
Balrothery
West Balscadden
88%
Balrothery
Palmerstown
76%
71%
Lusk
(N)
77%
Lusk
90%
Cornmeyne
(N)
83%
Ballyboughall
85%
Swords
(N)
Portrane
(N)
95%
76%
Donabate
(Per Centages of
Irish Speakers)

Barony of Castleknock
Barony of Coolock
Barony of Nethercross(N)
City of Dublin
N
Kilsalachan
90%
(N)
76%
Kilossery
Malahide
70%
Killeigh
83%
69%
80%
Swords
(N)
St Margaret's
Clontran Swords
86%
Balgriffin
Clontran
95%
79%
Coolock
86%
86%
Portmarnock
Warde
91%
72%
Mulhuddart
84%
Finglas (N)
Santry
70%
Clontarf
43%
Raheny
93%
Howth
83%
72%
Finglas
Castleknock
Clonsillagh
81%
61%
72%
Clontark
Izod
75%
(Per Centages of Irish Speakers)
26%
Dublin


N
Lucan
Palmerstown
73%
65%
Ballyfermot
77%
St Patrick's Close
34%
55%
81%
Esker
Kilmainham
St Kevin's
37%
86%
85%
Clondalkin
Crumlin
Barony of Rathdown
86%
Newcastle
89%
Kilmalway
Barony of Newcastle and Uppercross
79%
78%
Rathcoole
Tallaght
Rathfarnham etc.
77%
71%
Saggart
82%
(Per Centages of Irish Speakers)

Language input and language change

Using the preceding section as a base, it is possible to sketch the development of a fragment of Hiberno-English grammar by considering the linguistic structures which were available to learners of English in the 17th century. These surface structures are not models to be imitated directly, but raw data from which language learners, whether learning a language as a first or a second language, must intuit a grammar. It is in the process of constructing grammars from output data that language change may occur, given that the structural interpretations made by learners may not be isomorphic with the underlying structures in the grammars of native adult speakers. (For a discussion of this issue see Andersen 1973.) In illustrating the type of research that can be done in this area, I concentrate here on the well-known Hiberno-English do+be construction, which I wish to consider not in relation to Irish, as is usually done, but in relation to do forms in early modern English. I suggest that Hiberno-English do+be results from a re-interpretation of the periphrastic do of earlier English, in which periphrastic do was divided into two lexical entries. One of these, regular tense-marking do, became obsolete in Hiberno-English, just as it did in most other dialects; the other do, marking habitual, durative, or generic aspect, was brought into juxtaposition with be and remained as a Hiberno-English aspectual marker.

In examining the English input data for the habitual do, I do not examine the possible Irish-language sources for do+be. I suggest that Irish may have provided the conceptual basis on which bilingual speakers looked for a habitual marker in English; since do+be cannot be seen as a lexical translation of Irish aspectual markings, it can only have arisen through a more complicated process of semantic association between the Irish aspectual category and an English aspectual marker that had taken on similar

functions for independent reasons. Such a hypothesis may be supported by comparing the emergence of do+be constructions with Hiberno-English after (I'm after breaking the window). While the latter construction, which is much more clearly related to Irish lexical items with similar function, makes its first appearance in print in 1681 (Bartley 1954, p. 130), do+be has so far not been found before 1815. (Bliss 1972, pp. 80-81. Even the example cited by Bliss can be questioned, as it is given not as an example of actual speech, but as a grammatical gloss in an Irish instruction book.) If it is tne case that these two constructions have clearly separate histories, then it should not be surprising that they should have arisen by different historical processes.

With this hypothesis in mind, consider the uses of periphrastic do exemplified below.[2] This structure, about which Visser (1969, p. 1488) says that 'there is hardly a point of syntax on which there is a greater cleavage of views,' is usually exemplified as below.

Periphrastic do_1

(1) monkes and prestes deden messe singen.
(ca. 1300. Visser 1969, p. 1499.)

(2) They dyd let fly theyr quarrelles.
(1523-25. Visser 1969, p. 1504.)

(3) a braying ass Did sing most loud and clear.
(1783. Visser 1969, p. 1510.)

(4) how many peckes every brewer dyd brew.
(1527. Gilbert 1889, p. 181.)

(5) We enjoyned him to forbear teaching; and I the Chancellour did take a Recognizance of him.
(1615. O'Flaherty 1846, p. 215.)

(6) notwithstanding all the caution and care he and those employed under him do or can take to prevent persons from diverting the water ... the same is frequently diverted.
(1750. Gilbert 1902, p. 352.)

Periphrastic do as cited above was often used to denote states of affairs which were general or ongoing, rather than tied to a specific moment of the past or present. By the 16th century, a pattern starts to emerge in which do is used in phrases which denote habitual or generic actions. Such phrases often contain adverbs such as 'usually,' 'regularly,' etc. It is this do which I suggest provided the model for do+be. The first three examples below, of which (1) and (2) are British, illustrate general uses of periphrastic do_1, while the remaining examples show what I have termed periphrastic do_2.

Periphrastic do_2

(1) and well she may be named a woman, for as much as as she doth bear children with woe and pain, and also she is subject to man.

(1542. Furnivall 1870, p. 68.)

(2) I flatter my self that I do from Day to Day contribute something to the polishing of Men's Minds.

(1711. Visser 1969, p. 1508.)

(3) By my fait, Dear joy, I do let de Trooparr ly wid my wife in de bad, he does ly at de one side and myself ly at de toder side, and my wife do lye in de middle side.

(1705. Bartley 1954, p. 111. See also Bliss 1979, p. 145.)

(4) citizens of this cittie ... do sondry and often refus and gywe over ther said fredomis.

(1554. Gilbert 1889, p. 439.)

(5) dyvers and sundry persons ... doe in pryvy and secret places usually and ordenarily shewe

(1612-13. Gilbert 1892, p. 31.)

(6) the said merchants did usually pay the said custome.

(1631. Gilbert 1892, p. 558.)

(7) and yet she doth continually extort on poor people

(1634. Gilbert 1892, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)

(8) the geese and ducks repaire into their Master's yard, and the cockes and the hennes doe goe to roost for

that time.

(1682. Hore 1862-63, p. 87.)

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion can only be seen as a suggestion for further research. What is suggested here is that the historical reconstruction of Hiberno-English must make use of (a) historical records of population distribution in as detailed a fashion as possible, (b) theoretical models of societal bilingualism and language change, and (3) a close analysis of the types of primary linguistic data to which speakers may have been exposed in the process of grammar formation in various historical stages.

In regard to the first point, the data which I have presented here are quite amenable to analysis in terms of Trudgill's (1974) discussion of linguistic diffusion, in which he notes, following W. Christaller, that 'diffusion patterns are ... mediated through a system of urban centres (central places ...) in any given area "where diffusion is primarily dependent on individuals in one central place communicating with those in another".' (Trudgill 1974, pp. 223-224.) Here it may be suggested that the towns of post-Cromwellian Ireland played the role of 'central places,' providing concentrated communities of English-speakers, who, as administrators and entrepreneurs, shared a common cause. Though the diffusion of English out of the towns throughout the country did not occur with force until the 18th century and was not ultimately successful until the 19th century, these towns may nevertheless have been important in the development of the Hiberno-English which eventually came into being.

As regards the third point, there is a great need to collect further information on the emergence of linguistic variables in Hiberno-English. If, as Bliss (1972) suggests, do+be did not emerge until the 19th century, then its emergence after the general obsolesence of periphrastic do

($\underline{do}_1$) cannot be accounted for by reference to the periphrastic $\underline{do}$ of 17th century British English. Rather, a Hiberno-English $\underline{do}$ would have to be seen as based either on a relic form of periphrastic $\underline{do}$ (such as the innovative $\underline{do}_2$) or on some other source. If, however, the form occurred in the 18th or 17th centuries, then $\underline{do}$+$\underline{be}$ may be more directly related to periphrastic $\underline{do}_1$. Investigating detailed grammatical questions such as those raised by Hiberno-English $\underline{do}$+$\underline{be}$, in conjunction with social-geographical diffusion models, can contribute not only to the study of Hiberno-English, but to the understanding of the effects of language contact on change within a language in general.

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[1]I am indebted to Margaret Mannion for drawing the maps.

[2]In general, I have preserved the original spelling of these examples, with the exception that I have modernised the use of 'u' and 'v.'

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